A REFORMED CATECHISM,

IN

TWO DIALOGUES

CONCERNING

The ENGLISH REFORMATION.

COLLECTED

For the moſt part, *Word* for *Word*, out of Dr. *Burnet*, *John Fox*, and other *Proteſtant* Hiſtorians.

PUBLISHED

For the INFORMATION of the PEOPLE.

IN

REPLY to *Mas William Kings* ANSWER to D. *Manby's* Conſiderations, &c.

The FIRST DIALOGUE.

By *Peter Manby* D. of *Londonderry*.

Memento dierum antiquorum, cogita generationes ſingulas, interroga Patrem *tuum, & annunciabit tibi,* Majores *tuos, & dicent tibi.* Deut. 32. 7.

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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

TO THE
READER.

Reader,

HE, *that would undertake to ſhew us a new or better way to Heaven, then either we or our* Forefathers *have been acquainted with, ought in all reaſon to recommend himſelf* (*as the Apoſtles did*) *by ſome other* Authority *then a bare pretence to* Scripture, *which every body claims as well as he: unleſs we would* be toſſed too and fro (*as Saint* Paul *ſpeaks*) and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine, *with the various* Lights *of all* Reformers.

Cranmer *was this new undertaker; who had neither* Miſſion *from Heaven, nor conſent of the* Engliſh *Biſhops to Authorize his* Reformation, *nor yet any great mind to dye a* Martyr *for the ſame; as will appear in the enſuing Hiſtory.*

Now I pray obſerve theſe words of Mas William King, *page* 21. *of his* Anſwer *to Mr.* Manby, *viz.* ——— We own what he contends for, that both true Doctrine and external and lawful *Miſſion* are generally neceſſary to a regular Preacher of the Goſpel, and if either of theſe are wanting, the Perſon is not to be received.

Here if it can be demonſtrated that Cranmer *had no* Orders *either as Prieſt or Biſhop, but only to celebrate* Maſs, *to preach the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *to bind and abſolve Sinners; there is an end of the Controverſie. If he had no* Miſſion *at all to preach the Doctrine of* XXXIX. Articles, *then by* Mas William King's *own Confeſſion,* he was not to be received. *And for this* (*Reader*) *be pleaſed to read from page* 81. *of this* Catechiſm *to page* 91.

And

And where he ſays, *page* 25 *of his* Anſwer, *that* Cranmer in all he did, had the unanimous vote and conſent of the major part of the Convocation, the univerſal ſubmiſſion of the Clergy, and approbation of the People, *&c. And a little after*, but if the Clergy in a National Council, and the people in obedience to them, or from their own Inclinations did comply in earneſt, what an idle queſtion is it (*for Mr.* M.) to ask, by what Authority *Cranmer* condemned that Church from whom he received his *Miſſion* and Holy *Orders* ? when ſhe concurred in all he did, and approved, nay, made all the Alterations in her Liturgy, Sacraments and Conſtitutions that were made.

Now if it appear, that all the Engliſh *Biſhops, except a very few (during the Reign of* Henry VIII.) *were utterly againſt his pretended* Reformation ; *and that almoſt all the Biſhops under* Edward VI. *were turned out of their Sees for diſſenting from it, and others ſubſtituted in their places ; what ſhall we think of Mr.* Kings *Confidence thus impoſing upon his Readers ? What ſhall become of his* Anſwer *to Mr.* M. *the whole ſtrength whereof depends upon theſe words*, that the major Vote of the Convocation concurred in all he did, and approved all the Alterations that were made, *page* 25.

Read Burnet *relating the concerns of the Church upon King* Edward's *Succeſſion to the Crown ; and you ſhall find all affairs diſpatch'd by the Privy Council and two Houſes of* Parliament, *the* Biſhops *generally diſſenting.* The Convocation (*ſays* Heylin *ad annum* 1547. *the firſt year of King* Edward) was not impowr'd to act in any publick buſineſs for ought appearing on Record. *Hiſt. Reform. p.* 50. *Third Edition.*

And further, Note what he ſays (*ad annum* 1551. the fifth year of King *Edward*) but notwithſtanding the remove of ſo many Biſhops, there ſtill remained one rub in the way which did much retard the Progreſs of the *Reformation*, the Princeſs *Mary* having been bred up in the Romiſh Religion could not be won by any Perſwaſions to change her Mind, *&c. page* 102.

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Burnet *ſays, ſeveral of the Biſhops under King* Edward *ſubmitted to the Reformation againſt their Conſciences. Which only amounts to what I affirm in this* Catechiſm, *that the Reformation was not the Act and Deed of the* old Clergy, *but impoſ'd on the Nation by the Power and Intereſt of a few perſons for their own advantage.*

Let us imagine, if the late Duke of Monmouth *had proſpered, and then ſummoned an Aſſembly of the* Engliſh *Biſhops to reform the Church, as he and his Party had deſigned, and (they generally diſſenting) ſhould carry all things by ſtrong hand; whether ſuch a* Reformation, *paſſing with the conſent of a few Biſhops and a few other Clergymen, could be reputed the Act and Deed of the Church of* England?

But if you would ſee an Inſtance of Mr. Kings *modeſt way of writing againſt the* Pope *and Church of* Rome, *read* pag. 35. *of his* Anſwer, *where he tells you of the* Popes wicked Management of the Goods of the Church, and giving the Patrimony of the Church to Lay-men, to uſeleſs and idle Monks and Fryars, *&c.*

And for an Inſtance of his Loyalty, *ſee* page 37. *where he excuſes* Cranmer, *for ſubſcribing to a Letter for Excluding his lawful Sovereign, the Princeſs* Mary, *from Succeſſion to the Crown.* It was a point of Law (*ſaith he*) in which *Cranmer* was not ſingular. Mr. *M.* takes the liberty to queſtion Queen *Elizabeths* Title, and ſure it was no greater fault in *Cranmer* to queſtion Queen *Marys* after the Opinion of the Judges given againſt her (*mark that.*) There is a great difference between Rebellion againſt the King of undoubted Title, and being engaged on a ſide where the Title is really doubtful, *&c. that is to ſay,* Cranmer *was engaged on the ſide of Lady* Jane Grey, *Queen* Marys *Title being really doubtful. And why was it doubtful? Mr.* King *gives you the reaſon,* pag. 38. It was not only *Cranmers* Opinion, but the Opinion of moſt learned men in *Europe,* that her Mothers Marriage with King *Henry* was null. *Now whether he underſtands this matter ſo well as he thinks, ſhall appear in the ſecond part of this* Catechiſm.

Good Reader, *I humbly deſire this Favour of thee, to ſet aſide* Prejudice *and* Intereſt *for the ſpace of two or three hours, whilſt thou*

thou art reading this Book, which are but Pearls *upon both thy Eyes that will hinder thy ſight. Remember that Prayer of the Church of* England, From *Hereſie* and *Schiſm* good Lord deliver us. *Hadſt thou never ſo many Vertues, yet to live and dye in* Schiſm, *is as much as thy Soul is worth. Think upon the difference betwixt* Time *and* Eternity; *the conſideration whereof muſt oblige thee to ſlight and deſpiſe all thoſe things that concern thee only during this momentary* Life, *in compariſon of thoſe things that relate to thy future eſtate.* What ſhall it profit a man to gain the whole world, and loſe his own Soul? *That there is a* Schiſm *in the Chriſtian world is but too apparent: now you ſhall find very learned and moderate* Proteſtants *acquitting the Church of* Rome *from erring in the* eſſentials *of Religion; and very few now a days, except rank* Fanatiques *denying her to be a* Chriſtian Church. *Why then in the name of God ſhould there be a* Schiſm *about matters of no vital importance? Enquire a little further into matters. Read the* Maſs *it ſelf, and other Books of Devotion written by* Roman Catholiques; *pray to God to inflame your heart with the fire of* Charity, *and to beſtow upon you the Grace of Humility, and contempt of your own* private Spirit. *Liſten now and then to the* inartificial *Sermons of* Roman Catholique Prieſts *and* Fryars, *and by the Grace of God you ſhall find* Popery *another thing than you take it for. Remember that* Popery *appears not with ſo ridiculous a* Face *to the eyes of Proteſtants, but the* Proteſtant *Principles look as abſurdly to the eyes of a Papiſt.*

The Intention of this Book is to preſent thee with a Synopſis *of the* Reformation: *and that for the moſt part (not my own, but) Dr.* Burnet's *Words; becauſe the Words of an* Author *ſo licenſed and commended by the Two Houſes of Parliament* (1680.) *cannot, doubtleſs, but be obliging to moſt* Proteſtants. *This Favour I deſire of thee, that the* Printers *Miſtakes (if any there be) may not be imputed to me.*

In ſhort, as for Mas William King, *obſerve his* modeſt *way of writing againſt* Popery, *and thou ſhalt find therein a* double portion *of Dr.* Burnets *Spirit.* Farewell.

A

REFORMED CATECHISM,

OR A

PROSPECT

OF THE

ENGLISH REFORMATION, &c.

THere is no part of Hiſtory better received, (ſays Dr. Burnet) *than the Account of great Changes and Revolutions of State and Government. Of all Changes, thoſe in Religion, that have been ſudden and ſignal, are enquired into with the moſt ſearching Curioſity, where the Salvation of Souls beeing concerned, the better ſort are much affected. And the Credit, Honour and Intereſt of Parties draw in others, who, though they care not much for the Religious part, yet make a noiſe about it to ſerve their ends.*

The Changes, that have been made in Religion the laſt Century, *have produced ſuch effects every where, that it is no wonder if all perſons deſire to ſee a clear Account of the ſeveral ſteps in which they advanced, of the Councils that directed them, and the Motives, both religious and political, that inclined men of all conditions to concur in them.* Burnets Preface *to his* firſt vol. pag. 1.

A. THe Doctor obſerves very well; and therefore, I pray you, tell us ſome of thoſe memorable paſſages that have occur'd to you in reading that Hiſtory (which *Proteſtants* ſay) he hath compiled with ſo much Induſtry and Integrity.

B. I ſhall very willingly comply with your deſires, provided you will give me leave to do it in my own method.

A. What method will you obſerve?

B. In the firſt place, to entertain you with the Characters of the firſt *Apoſtles* and *Evangeliſts* of Reformation under the famous King *Henry* VIII. and his Son *Edward* VI. and that in the Doctors own words; which I remark to this end, that it may appear how likely Perſons they were to have been ſent or raiſed up by God for the Reformation of the *World*, and Reſtoration of the ancient Piety.

In the next place, to give you an Account of the Reformation it ſelf (which began with King *Henry*'s divorcing of Queen *Katherine* and Marriage with *Ann Bolen*) with ſome Obſervations of my own, as I go along.

A. Take your own Method; and ſince you think it convenient to relate their Characters, I would fain know the Doctors Opinion of King *Henry* himſelf, whom, I am told, he calls *the Poſtilion of Reformation.*

B. Take it it in his own words, *viz.* [I am not to defend him, nor to leſſen his Faults. The vaſtneſs and irregularity of his Expence procured many heavy Exactions, and twice extorted a publique Diſcharge of his Debts: His proud and impatient Spirit occaſioned many cruel proceedings; The taking ſo many Lives only for denying his Supremacy, particularly *Fiſher*'s and *More*'s, the one being extream old, and the other one of the Glories of his Nation for Probity and Learning: His extream Severity to all Cardinal *Pools* Family: His cruel uſing firſt *Cromwell*, and afterwards the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son; beſides his unexampled proceedings againſt ſome of his Wives. *Preface* to his firſt vol. *pag.* 7. The Faults of this King being ſo conſpicuous and the Severity

verity of his Proceedings ſo unjuſtifiable, particularly that heinous Violation of the moſt ſacred Rules of Juſtice and Government, in condemning men without bringing them to make their Anſwers; moſt of our Writers have ſeparated the concerns of this Church from his Reign; and imagining that all he did was founded only on his Revenge upon the Court of *Rome* for denying his Divorce, have taken little care to examine how matters were tranſacted in his time. *Preface pag.* 6.

A. What further account does the Doctor give of him?

B. He thought the *German* Princes and Divines ſhould have ſubmitted all things to his Judgment, and had ſuch an opinion of his own Learning, and was ſo pufft up with the flattering Praiſes that he daily heard, that he grew impatient of any oppoſition; and thought that his Dictates ſhould paſs for Oracles. *pag.* 196. of his firſt vol. He never hated nor ruined any body by halves, *pag.* 346. and *p.* 362. I do not deny that he is to be numbred among the ill Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worſt; He is rather to be reckoned among the great than the good Princes. *ibid.*

A. Does the Doctor ſay nothing in excuſe of him?

B. Yes; the Reader may obſerve *Burnet* ſtraining all his Wit and Learning to find out Apologies and Excuſes for him and the reſt of the Reformers. [If we conſider (ſaith he) the great things that were done by him, we muſt acknowledge that there was a ſignal Providence of God in raiſing up a King of his Temper for clearing the way to that *bleſſed Work* that followed; and that could hardly have been done, but by a man of his Humour. So that I may very fitly apply to him the witty *ſimile* of a Writer who compares *Luther* to a Poſtilion in his waxed Boots and oiled Coat, laſhing his Horſes through thick and thin, and beſpattering all about him. This Character befits King *Henry* better, (ſaving the Reverence due to his Crown) who as the *Poſtilion* of Reformation made way for it through a great deal of mire and filth. *Pref. pag.* 6.

A. What more?

 B. What.

B. Whatever Reproaches thoſe of the Church of *Rome* caſt on the Reformation upon the account of this Kings Faults, may may be eaſily turned back on their own Popes, *Pref. pag.* 8. *Gregory* 7. *Boniface* 8. *Julius* 2. *Leo* 10. *Clement* 7. *Paul* 3. and if the Lives of thoſe Popes, who have made the greateſt advances in their Juriſdiction, be examined, particularly *Gregory* 7. & *Boniface* 8. Vices more eminent than any can be charged on *Henry* 8. will be found in them. *ibid. p.* 8.

A. So that all he has to anſwer for *Henry* 8. amounts to this, that others were as bad as he; this is a ſort of Apology which we call *Recrimination.* Does that excuſe any mans Crimes?

B. No, the blemiſhing them (*viz.* the Popes) will not (I confeſs) excuſe our Reformers; therefore other things are to be conſidered for their Vindication, ſaith the Doctor, *pag.* 10. *Pref.* to his firſt vol.

A. What are thoſe other things?

B. Why may not (ſaith he) an ill King do ſo good a work, as to ſet a Reformation forward? Gods ways are a great deep, who has often ſhewed his Power and Wiſdom in raiſing up unpromiſing inſtruments to do great Services in the world; not always employing the beſt men in them. *Jehu* did an acceptable Service to God in deſtroying the Idolatry of *Baal*, though neither the way of doing it is to be imitated, being groſſly inſincere; nor was the Reformation compleat, ſince the Worſhip of the two Calves was ſtill kept up. And it is very like, his chief deſign in it was to deſtroy all the party that favoured *Ahabs* Family, yet the thing was good, and was rewarded by God. So, whatever this Kings other Faults were, and how defective ſoever the Change he made was, and upon what ill motives ſoever it may ſeem to have proceeded; yet the things themſelves being good, we ought not to think the worſe of them becauſe of the Inſtrument, or manner by which they were wrought, *Pref. pag.* 9. Thus the Doctor thinks he has ſufficiently juſtified the Engliſh Reformation againſt the Objections that may ariſe from the Impieties or Vices of *Henry* 8.

NOTE,

NOTE, *Let the Reader obſerve here, how the* Doctor *takes that for granted, which is the matter in queſtion; namely, that the* Engliſh Reformation was a good work; *and that God raiſed up* Henry 8. *to ſet it forward. Nay, the Doctor knows, it is utterly deny'd by the moſt conſiderable part of Chriſtendom, both* Greeks *and* Latins, *that God raiſed him up otherwiſe than he is ſaid to have* hardned Pharaoh's heart, *when he only gave him up to the Luſts and Cruelties of his own* Heart. *If the Doctors meaning be, that* Henry 8. *was raiſed up by an impulſe or inſpiration of Gods* Spirit, *to reform the* Church, *let him make that appear by ſome other Evidence than this further Character, and we will believe him.*

A. What is that further Character?

B. It will ſurpriſe ſome (ſaith the Doctor concerning his firſt Volumn) to ſee a Book of this bigneſs written of the Hiſtory of our Reformation under the Reign of *Henry* VIII. ſince the true beginnings of it, *viz. Reformation*, are to be reckoned from the Reign of *Edward* 6. (*mark the Antiquity of the Proteſtant Church*) in which the Articles of our Church and the Forms of our Worſhip were firſt compiled and ſet forth by Authority (*by what Authority ſhall appear anon*) and indeed in King *Henrys* time the Reformation was rather conceived than brought forth; and two Parties were in the laſt eighteen years of his Reign ſtruggling in the Womb, having now and then advantages on either ſide, as the inconſtant humour of that King changed, and as his Intereſts and often as his Paſſions ſwayed him: For being boiſterous and impatient naturally, which was much heightned by his moſt extravagant Vanity, and high Conceit of his own Learning (*ſtrange Evidence of a Divine Miſſion*) he was one of the moſt uncounſellable Perſons in the World. *Pref. page* 5, *and* 6.

A. What was King *Henry*'s Religion to his dying day?

B. Indeed in the whole Progreſs of thoſe Changes (ſaith our Hiſtorian) the King's deſign ſeemed to have been to terrifie the Court of *Rome*, and cudgel the *Pope* into a complyance with what he deſired. For in his Heart he continued addicted to ſome of the moſt extravagant opinions of that Church, ſuch as

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Tranſubſtantiation and the other Corruptions of the *Maſs*; ſo that he was to his Lives end more Papiſt than Proteſtant. *page* 7. *Preface* to 1 Vol.

NOTE *Reader. King* Henry *went to* Maſs *to his dying day: So did all theſe three Kingdoms to the firſt or ſecond year of* Edward *VI. Here is yet no Evidence of God's having raiſed him up by any Impulſe or Inſpiration of his Holy Spirit to Reform the Church (if that were the Doctors meaning) only that God permitted him as he does other Sinners to Act thoſe things for which they ſhall one day pay dearly. That ſome Popes have been no Saints, I ſhall not diſpute it with the Doctor: But let him ſhew, if he can, that any of the* firſt Reformers, Henry *VIII.* Ann Bolen, Cranmer, Cromwell, Somerſet, Northumberland, Ridly, *&c. were ſent or raiſed up by* God *to reform the Faith or Manners of the Church, and there is an end of the* Controverſie. *The Doctor inſtances in* David, Solomon, Jehu, *who all had their failings; but how does that recommend or excuſe our* Reformers, *who without any* Comiſſion *or* Inſpiration *from God preſumed to* reform, *that is to ſay,* ſubvert *the Church wherein they were Baptized, and ſet up another after their own Fancies*; who ſaid let us take to our ſelves the Houſes of God in Poſſeſſion, *Pſal.* 83. 12. *Never any* Pope *had the Wickedneſs to do ſuch things. And therefore to affirm, that God raiſed up ſuch Perſons to* Plunder *the Church under pretence of* Reforming *it, what is it better or worſe then to make God the Author of their* Sacriledge *and* Hypocriſy?

A. But what ſay you to the Doctors words, *Pref. page* 7. that every National Church is a compleat Body within it ſelf; ſo that the Church of *England* with the Authority and Concurrence of their Head and King may examine and reform all Errors, whether in Doctrine or Worſhip, *&c.* [*If this be true, what needs any ſpecial Commiſſion or Inſpiration from God to Reform the Church? Why may not every National Church do it by their own Authority?*] For ſaith the Doctor, a common Concurrence of other Churches was a thing ſcarce to be expected, and therefore this Church muſt be in a very ill condition, if there could be

be no endeavours for a Reformation till all the reſt were brought together, *ibid. page* 7.

B. The deſign of this Catechiſm, is to ſhew by the Doctors own Confeſſion, that the *Engliſh Reformation* was not the Act and Deed of the National Church or *Clergy* of *England*; neither in the days of *Henry* VIII. nor of his Son *Edward* VI, nor of Queen *Eliſabeth*; but impos'd upon the Nation by the Intereſt and Power of a few Perſons for their own advantage, *viz.* the raiſing their Fortunes out of Church-Lands. And when I have done this, I ſhall leave you to think what you pleaſe of Mr. *King*'s Modeſty, the *Preacher* of St. *Warbroughs*; who in a late *thing* which he calls an Anſwer to Dean *Manby*'s *Conſiderations*, affirms very confidently, *page* 25. *He* (*viz.* Cranmer) *in all he did, had the unanimous Vote and Conſent of the major part of the Convocation, the univerſal Submiſſion of the Clergy, and Approbation of the People.* And a little after, *But if the Clergy in a National Council, and the People in Obedience to them, or from their own Inclinations, did comply in earneſt; what an idle Queſtion is it to ask,* by what Authority *Cranmer* condemned that Church from whom he received his Miſſion and Holy Orders? *when ſhe concurred in all he did, and approved, nay, made all the Alterations in her Liturgy, Sacraments and Conſtitutions that were made,* &c.

A. But I pray go on in the method which at firſt you preſcribed to your ſelf; and tell us in the Doctors words, the Hiſtory of thoſe who promoted the Reformation under *Henry* VIII. and his Son *Edward* VI. and then what obſervable paſſages you have met with touching the Reformation it ſelf. I am ſatisfied that King *Henry* (by the Doctors Account of him) had little thoughts of *Reformation* whilſt he had the leaſt hopes of the Popes complyance in the matter of his Divorce from Queen *Katherine.*

B. The chief Apoſtles under *Henry* VIII. were *Ann Bolen, Cromwell, Cranmer, Latimer, Shaxton, Barlow.*

A. What were the extraordinary Vertues of *Ann Bolen.*

B. She favoured the *Reformers*; their chief Encouragement was from her, who reigned in the King's Heart as abſolutely as he did over

over his Subjects, and was a known Favourer of them: She took *Shaxton* and *Latimer* to be her Chaplains, ad ſoon after promoted them to the Biſhopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worceſter*; and in all other things cheriſhed and protected them, and uſed her moſt effectual endeavours with the King to promote the Reformation, *page* 171 of his firſt Vol. *ſecond Edition.*

A. What more?

B. Every Body admired Queen *Ann*'s Conduct, who had managed ſuch a Kings *Spirit* ſo long; and had neither ſurfeited him with great freedom [*the Doctor ſpeaks of her cunning behaviour before the King married her,*] nor provoked him by the other extream: For the King who was extreamly nice in theſe matters, conceived ſtill an higher opinion of her. And her being ſo ſoon with Child after the Marriage, as it made people conclude ſhe had been Chaſt till then, ſo they hoped for a Bleſſing upon it, ſince there were ſuch early appearances of Iſſue. Thoſe that favoured the Reformation expected better days under her Protection, for they knew ſhe favoured them, *page* 132. 1 *vol.*

A. But how did this Zealous Reformer behave her ſelf after her Marriage?

B. This being (ſaith the Doctor) one of the moſt memorable paſſages of King *Henry*'s Reign, I was at more then Ordinary pains to learn all I could concerning it. ——— She was of a very cheerful temper, which was not always limited within the bounds of exact Decency and Diſcretion. She had rallied ſome of the King's Servants more than became her; her Brother the Lord *Rochford* was her Friend as well as Brother. But his ſpiteful Wife was jealous of him, and being a Woman of no ſort of Vertue, ſhe carried many Stories to the King, or ſome about him, to perſwade that there was a familiarity between the Queen and her Brother, beyond what ſo near a Relation could juſtify. *Henry Norris* that was Groom of the Stool. *Weſton* and *Brereton* that were of the King's Privy-Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton* a Muſician, were all obſerved to have much of her Favour. And their Zeal in ſerving her was thought too warm and diligent to flow from a

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leſs active principle then *Love*. Many Circumſtances were brought to the King which working upon his averſion to the Queen, together with his Affection to Mrs *Seymour* made him conclude her Guilty. Yet ſomewhat which himſelf obſerved, or fancied at a Tilting at *Greenwich*, is believed to have given the *Criſis* to her Ruin. It is ſaid, that he ſpied her let fall her Handkerchief to one of her Gallants to wipe his Face being hot after a courſe. See the reſt *page* 197. 1 *vol.*

A. Did ſhe confeſs nothing?

B. She confeſſed this odd paſſage between her ſelf, and Sir *Henry Norris*. That ſhe once asked him, why he did not go on with his Marriage? Who anſwered her, that he would yet tarry ſome time; to which ſhe replyed, *you look for Dead Mens Shoos*; for, if ought come to the King but good, you would look to have *Me*: He anſwered, if he had any ſuch thought, he would his Head were cut off: Upon which ſhe ſaid, ſhe could undo him if ſhe pleaſed, and thereupon ſhe fell out with him, *page* 199. As for *Mark Smeton*, who was then laid in Irons, ſhe ſaid, he was never in her Chamber but when the King was laſt at *Wincheſter*. And then he came in to play on the Virginals: She ſaid that ſhe never ſpoke to him after that, but on *Saturday* before *May*-day, when ſhe ſaw him ſtanding in the Window; and then ſhe asked him, Why he was ſo ſad? he ſaid it was no matter. She anſwered, you may not look to have me ſpeak to you as if you were a *Noble Man*, ſince you are an inferiour perſon. No, no Madam, ſaid he, a Look ſufficeth me, *ibid. page* 199. She ſeemed more apprehenſive of *Weſton* then of any Body. For on *Whit-Sunday* Morning laſt, he ſaid to her, that *Norris* came more to her Chamber upon her account than for any body elſe that was there. She had obſerved, that he loved a Kinſwoman of hers, and challenged him for it, and for not loving his Wife. But he anſwered her, that there were Women in the Houſe whom he loved better then them both; ſhe asked, who is that? your ſelf ſaid he, upon which ſhe ſaid, ſhe defied him. *ibid. page* 197.

A. What is the Doctors opinion of this?

B. It

B. It is certain her Carriage had given juſt cauſe of ſome Jealouſy. *page* 206.

A. How did other people Cenſure her?

B. Her Carriage ſeemed too free, and all people thought (ſaith the Doctor) that ſome Freedoms and Levities in her had encouraged thoſe unfortunate Perſons to ſpeak ſuch bold things to her; ſince few attempt upon the Chaſtity, or make Declarations of Love to Perſons of ſo *exalted* a *Quality*, except they ſee ſome Invitations, at leaſt in their Carriage.* Others thought that a free and jovial Temper might with great Innocence though with no Diſcretion lead one to all thoſe things that were proved againſt her. *page* 206.

A. I pray tell us the ſum of her Story, as well what the Doctor ſays for her, as againſt her?

B. You may aſſure your ſelf he ſays nothing to her diſadvantage, but what the meer force of Truth extorts from him: The only deſign of his Hiſtory being to magnify the Reformation, and all the Friends thereof: He tells us *page* 202. She was indicted of High Treaſon, the Crimes charged upon her being theſe, *viz.* That *ſhe had procured her Brother, and the other four to Lye with her, which they had done often, and that ſhe ſaid to them that the King never had her Heart, and had ſaid to every one of them by themſelves, that ſhe loved them better than any Perſon whatſoever, which was to the ſlander of the Iſſue that was Begotten between the King and Her, viz* the Lady *Eliſabeth.* It was alſo added in the Indictment that ſhe and her Complices *had conſpired the Kings Death.* But this it ſeems was only put in (ſaith the Doctor) to ſwell the Charge. When the Indictment was read ſhe held up her hand and pleaded not *Guilty*, and ſo did her Brother, and did Anſwer the Evidence that was brought in againſt her diſcreetly: One thing is remarkable, that *Mark Smeton*, who was the only Perſon that confeſſed any thing, was never confronted with the Queen, nor was kept to be an Evidence againſt her, having received his Sentence three days before, and ſo could be no witneſs

neſs in Law. But perhaps though he was wrought on to *Confeſs*, yet they did not think he had Confidence enough to aver it to the Queens Face, therefore the Evidence they brought, as *Spelman* ſays, was the Oath of a Woman that was Dead. Yet this, or rather the Terror of offending the King, ſo wrought on the Lords, that they found her and her Brother Guilty, *page* 202. and Judgment was given that ſhe ſhould be *Burnt*.

A. Proceed.

B. Now ſhe lying under ſo terrible a Sentence, it is moſt probable that either ſome hopes of Life were given her, or at leaſt ſhe was wrought on by the aſſurances of mitigating that cruel part of her Judgment, of being *Burnt*, into the milder part of the Sentence of *having her Head cut off*. So that ſhe *confeſſed* a *Precontract* (with the Lord *Peircy*,) and on the 17*th* of *May* was brought to *Lambeth*, and in Court, the afflicted Archbiſhop (*Cranmer*) ſitting Judge, ſome Perſons of Quality being preſent, ſhe *confeſſed* ſome juſt and lawful Impediments, by which it was Evident that her Marriage with the King was not valid, upon which Confeſſion her Marriage between the King and Her was judged to have been null and void. The Record of rhe Sentence is burnt (ſays the Doctor) but theſe particulars are repeated in the Act that paſſed the next Parliament touching the Succeſſion to the Crown. *page* 203, 1 *Vol.*

NOTE. *The Record of the Sentence annulling her Marriage, to be ſure, was not burnt by the Enemies but Friends of Queen* Elizabeth. *That her Mother* Ann *made this Confeſſion, the Doctor is poſitive, but upon what Reaſons, he is not poſitive; only ſhe lying under ſo terrible a Sentence,* It is moſt probable (*ſaith he*) that either ſome hopes of Life were given her, or at leaſt ſhe was wrought on by the aſſurances of mitigating the cruel Sentence of being *Burnt*, into that of having her Head cut off. *ibid page* 203.

A. The Doctor is a good Advocate.

B. Obſerve his following words, which are his own witty Reflections on this matter. *viz*. The two Sentences that were paſt upon the Queen, the one of Attainder for *Adultery*, the other of

Divorce becauſe of a Precontract, did ſo Contradict one another, that it was apparent one, if not both of them muſt be unjuſt: For if the Marriage between the King and Her was null from the beginning, then ſince ſhe was not the Kings wedded Wife, there could be no *Adultery*. And her Marriage with the King was either a true Marriage or not; if it was true, then the annulling of it was unjuſt. And if it was no true Marriage, then the *Attainder* was unjuſt; for there could be no breach of that Faith which was never given. *p.* 203.

NOTE *But it appears by her own Confeſſion, that ſhe had given her Faith both to the King and the Lord* Peircy. *Only the Doctor in his Margine there calls it an extorted Confeſſion.* Heylin *relates the matter thus,* Hiſtory of Reformation *pag.* 259. The admirable attractions of which young Lady (*Ann Bolen*) had drawn the King ſo faſt unto her, that in ſhort time he gave her an abſolute Sovereignty over all his Thoughts. But ſo long he concealed his Affections from her, that a great League and Intercourſe was contracted betwixt her and the young Lord *Peircy*, the eldeſt Son of *Henry* Lord *Peircy*, who being brought up in the *Cardinals* Service, had many opportunities of confirming acquaintance with her. *See the reſt* pag. 259.

Sir *Henry Norris*, Sir *Francis Weſton*, *William Brereton* and *Mark Smeton* were tryed in *Weſtminſter* Hall, They were twice indicted, and the Indictments found by two Grand Juries in the Counties of *Kent* and *Middleſex*; the Crimes with which they were charged being ſaid to be done in both thoſe Counties. The three firſt pleaded Not Guilty, *Mark Smeton* confeſſed, he had known the Queen carnally three times: But the Jury upon the Evidence formerly mentioned found them all Guilty. Doctor *Burnet pag.* 201, 202. firſt vol.

NOTE. *If* Mark Smeton *belyed the Queen for the ſaving his Life, 'tis very ſtrange, that at his Execution he did not declare the Truth for the Vindication of the Queens Honour and his own Innocency. But* Heylin *gives this account of it,* pag. 264. *which I will not conceal from the Reader; viz.* From none of the Witneſ-

ſes

ſes they (namely the Kings Commiſſioners) were able to get any thing by all their Arts, which might give any ground for her Conviction, but that *Mark Smeton* had been wrought on to make ſome Confeſſion of himſelf to her Diſhonour, out of a vain hope to ſave his own Life by the loſs of hers. Concerning which, *Cromwell* thus writes to the King, after the Priſoners had been thoroughly examined in the *Tower* by the Lords of the Council. *Many things* (ſaith he) *have been objected, but nothing confeſſed, only ſome Circumſtances have been acknowledged by* Mark Smeton. It appears alſo by a Letter of Sir *William Kingſtons* (ſays *Heylin*) that he had much communication with her when ſhe was his Priſoner; in which her Language ſeemed to be broken betwixt Tears and Laughter, out of which nothing could be gathered, but that ſhe exclaimed againſt *Norris*, as if he had accuſed her. It was further ſignified in that Letter, that ſhe named ſome others who had obſequiouſly applied themſelves to her Love & Service, acknowledging ſuch paſſages, (*mark this*) though not ſufficient to condemn her, as ſhewed ſhe had made uſe of the utmoſt liberty which could be honeſtly allowed her. ——— There was no Evidence againſt her, but the Confeſſion of *Smeton*, and the Calumnies of the Lady *Rochfort*; of which the one was fooled into that Confeſſion by the hope of Life, which notwithſtanding was not pardoned, and the other moſt deſervedly loſt her Head within few years after. *Heylin Hiſt*; *Reform. pag.* 264, 265. *I have added this favourable account out of* Heylin, *to let the Reader ſee the miſtake of that Character which Doctor* Burnet *gives of him in the Preface to his firſt volum.* viz. He being wrought on by moſt violent prejudices againſt ſome that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in ſuch a manner, and ſo ſtrangely, that one would think he had been ſecretly ſet on by thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, *&c.* *If ever* Heylin *were ſet on to ſerve the Church of* Rome, *it muſt be ſurely in the* Hiſtory of Ann Bolen, *upon which there is ſo much depending in reference to the Birth and Title of Queen* Eliſabeth. *But the Reader may find him relating her whole Story ſo favourably,* (I mean this Story of her Misfortunes)

tunes) *that* Burnet *himſelf could not ſay more: yet whoever compares both Writers, ſhall find I have left out nothing material, that may be obſerv'd here in favour of* Ann Bolen. Sir *Henry Norris* was practiſed with to confeſs the Adultery, ſays *Heylin*, to which he made this generous Anſwer, that in his Conſcience he thought her guiltleſs of the Crimes objected againſt her, *&c.* and the Lord *Peircy* took the Sacrament, wiſhing that the ſame might be his Damnation, if ever there were any Contract or Promiſe of Marriage betwixt her and him. *Heylin p.* 255, 256.

A. But ſhe juſtifyed her Innocency in a Letter to the King from the *Tower*, dated *May* 6. 1536. did ſhe not?

B. You may find that Letter in Dr. *Burnets Records* annexed to his firſt *vol. pag.* 155. wherein ſhe thus expreſſes her ſelf; — But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous Slander muſt bring you the enjoyment of your deſired happineſs; then I deſire of God that he will pardon your great ſin therein, and that he will not call you to a ſtrict account, for your unprincely and cruel uſage of me, at his general Judgment-ſeat, where both you and my ſelf muſt ſhortly appear, *&c.*

A. What did ſhe ſay at her Execution, *May* 19. 1536?

B. She ſpoke ſome words which I am not able to reconcile with that ſame paſſage of her Letter.

A. What were the words?

B. She prayed heartily for the King, and called him a moſt merciful and gentle Prince, and that he had been always to her a good, gentle, Soveregin Lord: She ſaid, ſhe was come to dye, as ſhe was judged by the Law. She would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged. And if any would meddle with her Cauſe, ſhe required them to judge the beſt. Dr. *Burnet*, 1. *vol. p.* 205.

NOTE. *In her Letter from the* Tower *ſhe objects to him his unprincely and cruel uſage of her. And here at her Death ſhe calls him a moſt merciful and gentle Prince, and that he had been always to her a good, gentle Sovereign Lord. I will not ſay, ſhe affirmed at her Death*

Death what ſhe did not believe, or that ſhe complemented the King as having to the very laſt ſome hopes of his Mercy, but the Reader may conſult Doctor Burnet, *and try if he can find ought to reconcile theſe paſſages.*

A. Tell us the reſt of her Story.

B. The day before ſhe dyed, upon a ſtrict ſearch of her paſt Life, ſhe called to mind that ſhe had played the ſtep Mother to the Lady *Mary*, and had done her many Injuries, upon which ſhe deſired the Lieutenant of the *Towers* Lady, and with many Tears, charged her, as ſhe would Anſwer it to God to go in her name, and ask the Lady *Mary*'s Forgiveneſs for the Wrongs ſhe had done her, &c. *page* 204. This ingenuity and tenderneſs of Conſcience about leſſer matters (*this was but a Venial ſin perhaps*) is a great preſumption (ſaith the Doctor) that if ſhe had been Guilty of more eminent Faults, ſhe had not continued to the laſt denying them.

NOTE. *It is a wonder ſhe did not aſſert her own Innocency upon the Scaffold.* The Night before ſhe ſuffered, ſhe ſent her laſt Meſſage to the King, and acknowledged her ſelf much obliged to him, that he had continued ſtill to advance her, from a private Gentlewoman to a Marchioneſs, from that to a Queen, and now was ſending her to be a Saint in Heaven, *page* 204. 1 *Vol.*

A. What were the ſeveral Opinions paſſed upon her?

B. The Doctor tells you, the Popiſh Party ſaid, the Juſtice of God was viſible, that ſhe who had ſupplanted Queen *Katherine*, met with the like meaſure (*he means by* Jane Seymour.) Some took notice of her ſaint juſtifying her ſelf on the Scaffold, as if her Conſcience had then prevailed ſo far, that ſhe could no longer deny a thing for which ſhe was ſo ſoon to Anſwer at another Tribunal. But others thought her care of her Daughter made her ſpeak ſo tenderly; for ſhe had obſerved that Queen *Katherines* obſtinacy had drawn the King's Indignation on Lady *Mary*. Therefore ſhe ſpoke in a ſtile, (ſays the Doctor) that could give the King no juſt offence, *page* 206. He proceeds; Some have ſince that time concluded it a great Evidence of her *Guilt*; that

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during her Daughters (Queen *Eliſabeths*) long and glorious Reign, there was no full nor compleat Vindication of her publiſht. For the Writers of that time thought it enough to ſpeak honorably of her, and in general to call her *Innocent*; but none of them ever attempted a clear diſcuſſion of the particulars laid to her Charge. This had been much to her Daughters Honour (ſaith Dr. *Burnet*;) and therefore ſince it was not done, others concluded, it could not be done; and that their knowledge of her Guilt reſtrained their Pens. But others do not at all allow of that Inference; and think rather, that it was the great Wiſdom of that time not to ſuffer ſuch things to be called in queſtion: — therefore it was prudently done of that Queen (*Eliſabeth*) and her great Miniſters, not to ſuffer any Vindication or Apology to be written, &c. Some Indiſcretions (ſaith the Doctor) could not be denied. *p.* 207. 1. *vol. that is, 'tis confeſt on all hands, that* Ann Bolen *went to the very brink of Diſhoneſty.*

A. Is there nothing elſe of her that is memorable?

B. King *Henry* advanced her (ſays *Heylin*) to the Title of *Marchioneſs* of *Pembroke* on the firſt of *September*, 1532. aſſigning her a Penſion of a Thouſand pounds *per annum* out of the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. *Hiſtory of Reform. p.* 261. The new Queen conſidering that the *Pope* and ſhe had ſuch different Intereſts that they could not both ſubſiſt together, reſolved upon that courſe which Nature and Self-preſervation ſeemed to dictate to her: but finding that the Pope was too well intrenched to be diſlodged upon the ſudden, it was adviſed by *Cromwell*, (made Maſter of the *Rolls* upon her Commendation) to begin with taking in the Outworks firſt (*meaning the leſſer Monaſteries to the number of about* 376.) which being gained, it would be no hard matter to beat him out of his Trenches. *p.* 262. *Theſe Houſes were diſſolved by Act of Parliament*, anno 1535. to the paſſing whereof the Biſhops and *Mitred* Abbots, which made the prevalent part of the Houſe of Peers, contributed their Votes and Suffrages as others did; whether it were out of Puſillanimity, as not daring to appear in behalf of their Brethren, or out of a weak hope that

that the *Rapacity* of the Queen (*mark this*) and her Miniſters would proceed no further, it is hard to ſay. *Heylin, page* 263. Certain it is (ſays he) that by their improvident aſſenting to the preſent Grant, they made a Rod for their own Backs (as the ſaying is) with which they were ſufficiently ſcourged within few years after, though the new Queen (*obſerve*) for whoſe ſake *Cromwell* had contrived the Plot, did not live to ſee it. *Ibid. page* 263.

NOTE. *She makes* Cromwell *Maſter of the Rolls, and he to ſerve her Intereſt, adviſes the King to ſuppreſs the Religious Houſes.*

Heylin remarks further. When ſhe thought her ſelf moſt ſafe and free from Danger, ſhe became moſt obnoxious to the Ruin prepared for her. It had pleaſed God on the eighth of *January* 1535. to put an end unto the Calamities of the Vertuous, but unfortunate Queen (*Katherine,*) into whoſe Bed ſhe had ſucceeded. The News whereof ſhe entertained with ſuch Contentment that ſhe cauſed her ſelf to be Apparrell'd in lighter colours than was agreeable to the ſeaſon, or the ſad occaſion: Whereas, if ſhe had rightly underſtood her own Condition, ſhe could not but have known that the long Life of *Katherine* was to be her beſt preſervative againſt all Changes, *page* 263.

A. I pray let us hear Doctor *Burnet*'s Character of Queen *Katherine?*

B. She was a devout and pious Princeſs, and led a ſevere and mortify'd Life. In her Greatneſs ſhe wrought much with her own Hands, and kept her Women well employed about her; as appeared when the two *Legates* came once to ſpeak with her. She came out to them with a Skein of Silk about her Neck, and told them ſhe had been within at work with her Women. She was moſt paſſionately devoted to the Intereſts of the Court of *Rome:* and in a word, ſhe is Repreſented as a moſt wonderful good Woman. But Queen *Ann* did not carry her Death ſo decently, for ſhe expreſſed too much Joy at it both in her Carriage and Dreſs. *Burnet, page* 192. 1 Vol.

When Queen *Katherine* found her Sickneſs like to prove Mortal, ſhe made one about her write a Letter in her name to the King. In the Title, ſhe called him her *Dear Lord, King* and *Husband*. She adviſed him to look to the Health of his Soul: She forgave him all the Troubles he had caſt her into; and concluded, *I make this Vow that mine Eyes deſire you above all things.* Ibid. page 192.

A. Does he relate nothing further of Queen *Katherine?*

B. When her Cauſe was to be heard before the Legates *Anno* 1529. *the King and ſhe came perſonally into the Court.* When the King and Queen were called on, the King anſwered *Here.* But the Queen left her Seat, and went and kneeled down before him, and made a Speech. She ſaid, 'She was a poor Woman and a 'Stranger in his Dominions, where ſhe could neither expect good 'Council, nor indifferent Judges. She had been long his Wife, 'and deſired to know wherein ſhe had offended him: That ſhe 'had been his Wife twenty years and more, and had born him 'ſeveral Children, and had ever ſtudied to pleaſe him, and pro-'teſted he had found her a true Maid, about which ſhe appealed 'to his Conſcience. She ſaid, her Lawyers, who were his Sub-'jects and aſſigned by him, durſt not ſpeak freely for her. So 'ſhe deſired to be excuſed till ſhe heard from *Spain.* Then ſhe roſe up and made the King a low Reverence and went out of the Court, and although they called after her, ſhe made no Anſwer, but went away and would never again appear in Court. She being gone, the King did publickly declare what a true and obedient Wife ſhe had always been, and commended her much for her excellent qualities. *Burnet, page* 73. 1 Vol.

A. Do you find that *Ann Bolen* ever repented her Carriage in reference to this good and vertuous Princeſs?

B. Not a Syllable of that have I met with in *Burnet* or *Heylin.* After Queen *Ann*'s Death a Parliament was called to Repeal an Act of a former Parliament, concerning the Succeſſion of the Crown to the Iſſue of the King by her: In this Parliament, (ſaith the Doctor) the Attainder of Queen *Ann* and her Complices is con-

confirmed: *In the new Act of Succeſſion,* ſhe is ſaid *to have been inflamed with Pride and Carnal deſires of her Body, and having confederated her ſelf with her complices, to have committed divers Treaſons to the danger of the King's Royal Perſon; for which ſhe had juſtly ſuffered Death, and is now attainted by* Act of Parliament. *Burnet, page* 210. 1 Vol.

A. I pray of what Church did ſhe dye?

B. The Doctor ſays nothing of that; the Church of *England* was not then in being; *Maſs* being ſaid at that time in all Churches of the Nation, and above ten years after. The Church of *Romes* Authority was then excluded by Act of Parliament, and that by her intereſt. So that of what Church ſhe dyed I cannot reſolve you, unleſs it were King *Henry*'s Church; and that was no *Proteſtant* Church; the Doctrine of the *ſix Articles* being then in requeſt: However ſhe dyed a Saint if you believe her own words. And ſome think 'tis no matter of what Church they Live or Dye, provided they be no *Papiſts*. But King *Henry*'s Church was then ſcarcely three years old.

A. Enough of your firſt Reformer *Ann Bolen*; for whole ſake King *Henry* fell out with the Pope, and made a Rupture in the Catholick Church. She was not the firſt nor will be the laſt *Female* Incendiary of Miſchief and Quarrels in the World. Who was the next Reformer under *Henry* VIII?

B. Thomas Cromwell.

A. What Tokens of an extraordinary *Miſſion* does *Burnet* obſerve in him?

B. He was a Man of mean Birth but noble Qualities, — only he made too much haſte to be Great and Rich. He joyned himſelf in a firm Friendſhip to *Cranmer*, and did promote the Reformation very vigorouſly; *Burnet*, 1 Vol *page* 172. The Suppreſſion of the *Abbies* was wholly laid at his door, *page* 276. He was attainted by Act of Parliament, *Anno* 1540. *Wherein it is ſaid expreſsly*, that the King having raiſed *Thomas Cromwell* from a baſe degree to great Dignities and high Truſts; yet he had now by a great number of Witneſſes, perſons of Honour, found him to be

the moſt corrupt Traitor and Deceiver of the King and the Crown, that had ever been known in his whole Reign. That he had received ſeveral Bribes, and for them granted Licenſes to carry Mony, Corn, Horſes, and other things out of the Kingdom, contrary to the King's *Proclamations*; that he being alſo an Heretick had diſperſed many Erroneous Books among the King's Subjects, particularly ſome that were contrary to the belief of the *Sacrament*; and when ſome had informed him of this, and had ſhewed him theſe Hereſies in Books printed in *England*; he ſaid, *they were good, and that he found no fault in them*: and ſaid, *it was as lawful for every Chriſtian Man to be a Miniſter of the Sacrament, as a Prieſt*. And whereas the King had conſtituted him *Vice Gerent* for the ſpiritual affairs of the Church, he had under the Seal of that Office Licenſed many that were ſuſpected of Hereſie to Preach over the Kingdom. And had both by Word and Writing ſuggeſted to ſeveral *Sheriffs* that it was the King's pleaſure they ſhould diſcharge many Priſoners, of whom ſome were indicted, others apprehended for *Hereſie*. And when many particular Complaints were brought to him of deteſtable Hereſies with the names of the Offenders, he not onely defended the *Hereticks* but ſeverely checkt the Informers. And vexed ſome of them by Impriſonment, and otherways. And he having entertained many of the King's Subjects about himſelf, whom he had infected with Hereſie, and imagining he was by force able to defend his Treaſons and Hereſies, on the laſt of *March* in the 30*th* year of the King's Reign, in the Pariſh of St. *Peters* in *London*, when ſome of them complained to him of the new Preachers, ſuch as *Barnes*, and others; he ſaid *their Preaching was good*; and ſaid alſo among other things, *that if the King would turn from it, yet he would not turn. And if the King did turn and all his People with him, he would fight in the field in his own Perſon with his Sword in his Hand againſt him and all others*. And then he pulled out his Dagger, and held it up and ſaid, *or elſe this Dagger thruſt Me to the Heart, if I would not dye in that quarrel againſt them all: And I truſt if I live one year or two, it ſhall not be in the King's*

power

power to reſiſt, or let it if he would. And Swearing a great Oath, ſaid, *I would do ſo Indeed.* He had alſo by Oppreſſion and Bribery made a great Eſtate to himſelf, and extorted much Money from the King's Subjects, and being greatly enriched had treated the Nobility with much Contempt. For all which Treaſons and Hereſies he was attainted to ſuffer the pains of Death as ſhould pleaſe the King, and to forfeit all his Eſtate and Goods to the King's uſe. Theſe are the Words of the *Act*. *Burnet, page* 278. 279.

A. How does the Doctor excuſe him?

B. Moſt of theſe things relate to Orders and Directions he had given, for which it is very probable he had the King's Warrant. And for the matter of Hereſie, it has appeared how far the King had proceeded towards a Reformation, ſo that what he did that way, was moſt likely done by the King's Orders. But the King now falling from theſe things, it was thought they intended to ſtifle him by ſuch an *Attainder*, that he might not diſcover the ſecret Orders or Directions given him for his own juſtification, *page* 279.

NOTE. *It is very probable, it was moſt likely, it was thought*, is all the Defence which the Doctor makes for him. *Who having ſeen all his Papers, found it ſeems none of thoſe Orders or Directions. How far the King had proceeded towards a Reformation was then apparent by the Statute of Six Articles*, made purpoſely againſt the inſolence of the *new Preachers*, anno 1539. And the King's averſion to Hereſie no Man underſtood better than *Cromwell*: For in his Heart he continued (as is confeſſed by the Doctor) addicted to ſome of the moſt extravagant Opinions of the *Roman* Church, as *Tranſubſtantiation*, &c. ſo that he was to his Lives end more Papiſt than Proteſtant; ſo the Doctor is pleaſed to expreſs himſelf. *Pref.* to 1 *Vol.*

A. What Religion did *Cromwell* dye of?

B. When he was brought to the Scaffold, he acknowledged his Sins againſt God, and his Offences againſt his Prince, who had raiſed him from a baſe degree; he declared that he dyed in the

the *Catholick Faith*, not doubting of any Article of Faith, or of any Sacrament of the Church; he denyed that he had been a Supporter of thoſe who delivered ill Opinions. He confeſſed he had been ſeduced (*mark this*) but now dyed in the *Catholick Faith*. *Burnet, page* 284. By what he ſpoke at his Death he left it much doubted of what Religion he dyed: But it is certain he was a *Lutheran* ſays *Burnet, page* 285. The term *Catholick Faith* uſed by him in his laſt Speech ſeemed to make it doubtful; but that was then uſed in *England* in its true Sence, in oppoſition to the Novelties of the See of *Rome, page* 285. *ibid.* So that his Profeſſion of the *Catholick Faith* was ſtrangely perverted (ſays *Burnet*) when ſome from thence concluded that he dyed in the Communion of the Church of *Rome, ibid.*

NOTE. *He dyed a* Lutheran, *equivocating with the words* Catholique Faith: *he knew* Lutheraniſm *was not allowed for Catholique Faith in* England; *King* Henry *and his Biſhops being more* Papiſts *than* Lutherans. *He promoted the Reformation vigorouſly* (*ſaith the Doctor*;) *ſo that if the truth were known, he dyed of* Ann Bolens *Church, and that was a* Church *yet unborn*; *for in King* Henrys *time* (*as* Burnet *obſerves*) *the* Engliſh *Reformation was rather conceived than brought forth. Verily the* Reformation *ſeems to me a Riddle from firſt to laſt. If* Cromwell *was a Lutheran, he was at the ſame time both* Vicar General *and* Heretique *to King* Henrys *Church, as you may find in the Act of* Attainder *compared with the Statute of* Six Articles.

A. Did he at his Death expreſs any Remorſe for deſtroying the Religious Houſes, and alienating the Eſtates of the Church?

B. Not a word of that. I verily believe he thought he did God good Service, and perhaps had done himſelf ſome Service out of thoſe Eſtates.

A, What reaſon have you for that?

B. It is not unlike (ſays the Doctor) that ſome Preſents to the *Commiſſioners* or to *Cromwell* made thoſe Houſes outlive this ruin, (*he means ſome few Houſes which K* Henry *had reſtor'd to the Monks*;) for I find great trading in *Bribes* at this time, which is not to be won-

wondred at when there was ſo much to be ſhared. *p.* 224. 1. *vol.* And the Act of Attainder ſays, that he had by Oppreſſion and Bribery made a great Eſtate to himſelf, and extorted much Mony from the Kings Subjects, and being greatly enriched, had treated the Nobility with much Contempt. But the Doctor excuſes him, *pag.* 279. For the particulars of Bribery and Extortion, they, being mentioned in general expreſſions, ſeem only caſt into the heap to defame him. And, *pag.* 285. he carried his Greatneſs with wonderful Temper and Moderation; and fell under the weight of popular *Odium* rather than Guilt; *for which the Doctor gives this reaſon,* the Diſorders in the Suppreſſion of *Abbies* were generally charged on him. *ibid.*

With his Fall the progreſs of the *Reformation,* which had been by his endeavours ſo far advanced, was quite ſtop'd. *p.* 285. For all that *Cranmer* could do after this, was to keep the ground they had gained; but he could never advance much further. *ibid.* With him the Office of the Kings *Vice-Gerent* in Eccleſiaſtical affairs dyed, as it roſe firſt in his perſon. And, as all the Clergy oppoſed the ſetting up a new *Officer,* whoſe Intereſt ſhould oblige him to oppoſe a Reconciliation with *Rome*; ſo it ſeems none were found to ſucceed in an Office that proved ſo fatal to him. *p.* 285.

NOTE. *All the Clergy at that time were for a Reconciliation with* Rome, (that was the year 1540.) *after their Deliverance from the Tyranny of* Cromwell. *By all the Clergy the Doctor means* the major part, *nay all, except* Cranmer *and two or three more, as ſhall appear by and by out of Dr.* Burnet.

Dr. *Heylin* remarks, *Hiſtor. Reform. p.* 11. *ad annum* 1540. King *Henry* advanceth his great Miniſter *Cromwell* (by whom he had made ſuch havock of Religious Houſes in all parts of the Realm) to the Earldom of *Eſſex,* and ſends him headleſs to his Grave within three months after. And Dr. *Burnet* himſelf cannot but obſerve the Judgment of God upon *Cromwell anno* 1540. *viz.* His ruin was now decreed; and he, who had ſo ſervilely complied with the Kings Pleaſure in procuring ſome to be attainted

the

the year before, without being brought to make their *Anſwer*, ſell now under the ſame Severity. *p.* 227. 1. *vol.*

A. How did *Cromwell* govern the Church?

B. Firſt as King *Henrys* Vicar General, afterwards as Lord Vice-Gerent in Eccleſiaſtical matters. They were two different Places, and held by different Commiſſions. By the one he had no Authority over the Biſhops, nor had he any Precedence; but the other, as it gave him the Precedence next to the Royal Family, ſo it clothed him with a compleat Delegation of the Kings whole Power in Eccleſiaſtical matters. *Burnet p.* 181. By virtue of which Authority he ſends out his Inſtructions to the Biſhops how to proceed in a Reformation, and his Injunctions to the Clergy, which the Reader will find in *Burnets* Collection of Records. 1. *vol. p.* 181. *Book* 3. concluding thus; All which and ſingular Injunctions I miniſter unto you and your Succeſſors by the Kings Highneſs's Authority to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the ſame Authority to obſerve and keep upon pain of Deprivation, Sequeſtration of your Fruits, or ſuch other Coercion as to the Kings Highneſs or his *Vice-Gerent* for the time being ſhall ſeem convenient. This was in the year 1538.

One of thoſe Injunctions was this, *viz.* You ſhall ſuffer from henceforth no Candles, Tapers, or Images of Wax to be ſet before any Image or Picture, but only the Light that commonly goeth a croſs the Church by the Rood Loft, the Light before the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Light about the Sepulchre; which for the adorning of the Church and Divine Service ye ſhall ſuffer to remain: ſtill admoniſhing your Pariſhioners that *Images* ſerve for none other purpoſe, but as the *Books* of unlearned men, that *ken* no Letters, whereby they might be otherwiſe admoniſhed of the Lives and Converſation of them that the ſaid Images do repreſent. *Alſo* that you ſhall expreſsly provoke, ſtir and exhort every perſon to read the Bible, admoniſhing them nevertheleſs to avoid all Contention, Altercation therein, and to uſe an honeſt Sobriety in the inquiſition of the

the true ſenſe of the ſame, and refer the Explication of obſcure places to men of higher Judgment in Scripture.

NOTE. *Such Admonitions were to no purpoſe; the Bible being once permitted into the rude hands of the Multitude. For what (ſay they) does he allow us to read the Scripture, and then debar us the uſe of our Underſtandings! Has not every man a Judgment of Diſcretion to read and interpret the Scripture for himſelf, ſo as not to pin his Religion on the ſleeve of the Church?*

Another of his Injunctions was, that you ſhall in Confeſſions every *Lent* examine every perſon (*it ſeems private Confeſſion was then in practice*) whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the *Pater noſter* in *Engliſh*, and hear them ſay the ſame particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, ye ſhall admoniſh them, that every Chriſtian ought to know the ſame before they receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and to learn the ſame more perfectly by the next year following. So you ſhall declare unto them, that you look for other Injunctions (*mark this*) from the Kings Highneſs by that time, to ſtay and repel all ſuch from Gods Board, as ſhall be found ignorant in the premiſes. *Coll. p.* 181.

A. So much for *Cromwell*, whoſe Religion or Church (whatever it was) is paſt my underſtanding. Go on, and tell us who is your next *Saint* of the Reformation?

B. Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

A. What Signs of an *Apoſtle* did appear in him?

B. Your Queſtion is but rational, ſince *Burnet* affirms ſo poſitively, that he was a man raiſed up by God for great Services. *p.* 335. 2. *vol.*

A. I know he was, next to *Cromwell*, the grand *Projector* of Reformation under *Henry* 8. but the thing that I expect from *Burnet*, is the proof of that Aſſertion, *that he was a man raiſed up by God*, in caſe he would oblige us to eſteem the Reformation not to have been the work of *Man* but of *God*. Shall *Cranmer* take upon him to reform, that is, to pull down the eſtabliſhed Religion of the Nation, coyn 39 Articles, and impoſe them on the *Clergy*,

as if he had thought the Scriptures obſcure or inſufficient in things neceſſary; (the major part of the Chriſtian World proteſting againſt it as new Doctrine) and all this by a meer humane Authority, an Act of Parliament paſſed under the Childhood of *Edward* 6?

B. As for the marks of his Apoſtleſhip, take the Hiſtory of his Actions compared with Burnets *Character, and then ſatisfie your ſelf the beſt you can. Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dying in the year 1533. King *H.* ſaw well of how great importance it was to the Deſigns he was then forming (*viz. his Divorce from Q.* Katherine, &c.) to fill that See with a learned, prudent, and reſolute Man; but finding none in the Epiſcopal Order (*that is amongst all the Engliſh Biſhops*) that was qualified to his Mind, (*note this*) and having obſerved a native ſimplicity joyned with much Courage, and tempered with a great deal of Wiſedom in Doctor *Cranmer*, who was then Negotiating his buſineſs among the learned Men of *Germany*, he of his own Accord, without any Addreſſes from *Cranmer*, deſigned to raiſe him to that *Dignity*; and gave him notice of it, that he might make haſte and come home to enjoy that reward which the King had appointed for him. But *Cranmer* having received this News, did all he could to excuſe himſelf from the Burden which was coming upon him; and therefore he returned very ſlowly to *England*; hoping that the Kings thoughts cooling, ſome other Perſon might ſtep in between him and a *Dignity*, of which having a juſt and primitive Senſe, he did look on it with Fear and Apprehenſion rather than Joy and Deſire: This was ſo far from ſetting him back, that the King was thereby confirmed in his high Opinion of him; and neither the delays of his Journey, nor his Intreaties to be delivered from a Burden which his humility made him imagine himſelf unable to bear, could divert the King (*and good reaſon why, becauſe amongſt all the Biſhops he found no Man elſe for his purpoſe.* So that tho ſix months elapſed before the thing was ſettled, yet the King perſiſted in his Opinion, and the other was forced to yield, *Burnet, page* 127. Now let the Reader obſerve Doctor *Heylin*'s account of *Cranmer*'s backwardneſs to accept that Preferment. *viz. Warham* Archbiſhop of

Can-

Canterbury dying, *Cranmer* is designed for his Succeſſor in that eminent Dignity, which he unwillingly accepts of, partly in regard that he was Married at that time, and partly in reference to an Oath which he was to take to the Pope at his Conſecration. But the King was willing for his own ends to wink at the one, (*viz, his Marriage*) and the Pope was not in a Condition, as the Caſe then ſtood, to be too peremptory in the other. *Heylin, Hiſt. Reform. page* 177.

Burnet ſays further, though *Cranmer* was a Man of too great Candour and Simplicity to be refined in the Arts of Policy, yet he managed his Affairs with great Prudence (*that is to ſay, reſpect to his intereſt*) which did ſo much recommend him to the King that no ill Offices were ever able to hurt him, *page* 172. 1 *Vol.* In the end of *January* 1533. the King ſent to the Pope for the Bulls for *Cranmer*'s Promotion; and though the Statutes were paſſed againſt procuring more Bulls from *Rome*; yet the King (ſays *Burnet*) reſolved not to begin the Breach till he was forced to it by the Pope (*that is, whilſt there were any hopes of the Popes conſenting to his Marriage with* Ann Bolen) On the other hand the Pope had no mind to precipitate a Rupture with *England*, therefore conſented to *Cranmer*'s Promotion, *page* 128.

A. I pray let us hear Doctor *Burnet*'s account of his Conſecration, and taking the Oath to the Pope.

B. Cranmers Bulls being ſent into *England*, he was on the 13*th* of *March, Anno* 1533. conſecrated by the Biſhops of *London, Exeter*, and Saint *Aſaph*. But here a great Scruple was moved by him concerning the Oath that he was to Swear to the Pope, which he had no mind to take. And Writers near that time ſay, the diſlike of that Oath (*obſerve this*) was one of the Motives that made him ſo unwillingly accept of that *Dignity*. He declared that the Obligation which that Oath brought upon him would bind him up from his Duty to God, the King, and the Church. *page* 128, 129. 1 *Vol.*

A. I would fain hear the words of that Oath before you go any further.

B. Ego *T.* Electus Eccleſiæ *C.* Epiſcopus, ab hac hera fidelis & obediens ero beato *Petro* Apoſtolo Sanctæque Romanæ Eccleſiæ, &c. *I* T. *Biſhop of* C. *from this hour forward ſhall be faithful and obedient to Saint* Peter, *and to the Holy Church of* Rome; *and to my Lord the Pope, and his Succeſſors Canonically entring. I ſhall not be of Council nor Conſent that they ſhall loſe either Life or Member; nor ſhall be taken or ſuffer any violence or wrong by any means. Their Councel to me credited, their Meſſengers or Letters I ſhall not willingly diſcover to any Perſon. The Papacy of* Rome, *the Rules of the Holy Fathers, and the Regality of Saint* Peter *I ſhall help and maintain and defend againſt all Men. The* Legate *of the See Apoſtolick going and coming I ſhall honorably intreat. The Rights, Honours, Priviledges, Authority's of the Church of* Rome *and of the* Pope, *and his Succeſſors I ſhall cauſe to be conſerved, defended, augmented and promoted. I ſhall not be in Council, Treaty, or any Act, in the which any thing ſhall be imagined againſt Him or the Church of* Rome, *their Rights, Seats, Honours, or Powers. And if I know any ſuch to be moved or compaſſed, I ſtall reſiſt it to my power; and as ſoon as I can, I ſhall advertiſe him, or ſuch as may give him Knowledge. The Rules of the Holy Fathers, the Decrees, Ordinances, Sentences, Diſpoſitions, Reſervations, Proviſions and Commandments Apoſtolick to my Power I ſhall keep, and cauſe to be kept of others. Hereticks, Schiſmaticks and Rebels to our Holy Father and his Succeſſors I ſhall reſiſt and proſecute to my Power: I ſhall come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonical Impediment. The Threſholds of the Apoſtles I ſhall viſit yearly Perſonally, or by my Deputy. I ſhall not alienate or ſell my Poſſeſſions without the Popes Counſel.* So God help Me and the Holy Evangeliſts, *p.* 123.

A. Did he take this Oath in *Terminis?*

B. Yes, and you ſhall hear how: His Scruple being communicated to ſome of the Canoniſts and Caſuiſts (ſaith *Burnet*) they found a Temper that agreed better with their Maxims then *Cranmers* Sincerity; which was, that before he ſhould take the Oath, he ſhould make a good and formal Proteſtation, that he did not intend

intend thereby to reſtrain himſelf from any thing that he was bound to, either by his Duty to God, or the King, or the Countrey, and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of theſe. This Proteſtation he made in Saint *Stephens* Chappel at *Weſtminſter*, in preſence of ſome Doctors of the Canon Law, before he was conſecrated; and he afterwards repeated it when he took the Oath to the Pope, by which, if he did not wholly ſave his Integrity, (*note this*) yet it was plain, he intended no Cheat, but to act fairly and above board. *page* 129.

NOTE. *Upon the like Proteſtation he might have taken another Oath to be true to* Mahomet. *The* Dr. *is here at his wits end for an Excuſe: but confeſſes he did not ſwear like a ſincere Chriſtian.* He intended no Cheat, but to act fairly and above board; *viz. He would take the Oath, but ſo, God help him and the holy Evangeliſts, if ever he meant to obſerve one ſyllable of it.* Reader, *in all ages thoſe that have been ſent by God for the Reformation of the World, and Reſtoration of ancient Piety, have appeared to be Perſons of extraordinary Sanctity at leaſt, if not recommended by Miracles: in this* Reformer *there is yet no appearance of either.*

A. After his Conſecration what was the firſt Service he did for the King?

B. The Parliament then ſitting (*anno* 1533.) he came and ſat in the upper Houſe of Convocation, *Burnet p.* 129. and there (ſays *Heylin*) he propounds two Queſtions to be diſputed and conſidered by the Biſhops and Clergy, concerning the Kings Marriage with Queen *Katherine: both which Queſtions were anſwer'd as the King would have have it*, though not without ſome oppoſition in either Houſe, eſpecially the upper. It was concluded thereupon in the Convocation, and not long after in the Parliament alſo, that the King might lawfully proceed to another Marriage. But

NOTE. *The King was then privately married to* Ann Bolen.

Heylin

Heylin proceeds. Theſe Preparations being made, and the Marriage (with Queen *Katherine*) precondemned by Convocation. The new Archbiſhop (upon his own deſire and motion, contained in his Letters of the 11*th* of *April*) is authorized by the King under his *Sign Manual* to proceed definitively in the Cauſe (*mark the Authority upon which* Cranmer *proceeds to divorce Queen* Katherine,) who thereupon, accompanied by the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Wells*, and *Lincoln*, and divers other perſons to ſerve as Officers in that Court, repaired to *Dunſtable* in the beginning of *May*, and having a convenient place prepared in form of a Conſiſtory, they ſent a Citation to the Princeſs Dowager (meaning Q. *Katherine*) who was then at *Ampthill*, a Mannor Houſe of the Kings about ſix miles off; requiring her to appear before them at the day appointed; which day being come, and no appearance by her made either in perſon or by proxy (as they knew there would not) ſhe is called peremptorily every day fifteen days together; and every day there was great poſting betwixt them and the Court, to certifie the King and *Cromwell* (a principal Stickler in this buſineſs) how all matters went; in one of which from the new Archbiſhop, extant in the *Cottonian* Library, a reſolution is ſignified to *Cromwell* for coming to a final Sentence on *Friday* the 18*th* of that Month, but with a vehement Conjuration both to him and the King, not to divulge ſo great a *Secret*, for fear Queen *Katherine*, on the hearing of it, either before, or on the day of paſſing Sentence, ſhould make her appearance in the Court. *For* (ſaith he) *if the Noble Lady* Katherine *ſhould, upon the bruit of this matter, either in the mouths of the inhabitants of the Country, or by her Friends or Council hearing of it, be counſelled or perſwaded to appear before me at the time or before the time of Sentence, I ſhould be thereby greatly ſtaid & let in the Proceſs; and the Kings Graces Council there preſent ſhall be much uncertain what to do therein: For a great bruit and voice of the people in this behalf might perchance move her to do the thing, which peradventure ſhe would not, if ſhe hear little of it: and therefore I pray you to ſpeak as little of this matter as you may, and*

and to move the Kings Highneſs ſo to do, for conſideration above recited. Heylin Hiſtor. Reform. pag. 177,178.

NOTE. Burnet *commends* Cranmer *for his native Simplicity, joyned with Prudence: but what ſort of* Prudence *this was, let any man judge. Thus* Heylin *ſets down the naked truth of this matter, which* Burnet *colours with all his Art; not mentioning this Letter to* Cromwell. p. 130. 1. vol.

He proceeds, *ibid.* But ſo it happened to their wiſh, that the Queen perſiſting conſtant in her reſolution of ſtanding to the Judgment of no other Court than that of *Rome*, vouchſafed not to take any notice of their proceeding in the Cauſe; and thereupon ſhe was pronounced to be *Contumax* for defect of Appearance: and, by the general Conſent of all the learned men then preſent, the Sentence of Divorce was paſſed, and her Marriage with the King declared void and of no effect. *Heylin page* 178. Of this more anon.

A. But if you pleaſe, I would know of what Church or Religion was *Cranmer* at the time of his Conſecration and afterwards? and likewiſe what were the Words of his Miſſion and Conſecration both as Biſhop and Prieſt?

B. Firſt as to his Religion, I will tell you my own opinion: A *Papiſt* he could not be at that time, becauſe he denied the Popes *Supremacy* and other Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. Of the preſent Church of *England* he could not be, becauſe he went to *Maſs* then and 14 years after: ſo that he muſt be of King *Henry*'s Church, or of none at all. In the year 1538. he was (ſays *Burnet*) of *Luthers* Opinion, which he had drunk in from his Friend *Oſiander. pag.* 252. 1. *vol.* And ſate upon the Tryal and Condemnation of *John Lambert*, one of the new Preachers, for denying the Corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament. After the Death of K. *Henry* (of whom he ſtood in aw) he tackt about with the next wind of Doctrine, which was *Zuinglianiſm*; and joyning with King *Edwards* privy Counſellors, he reformed, that is, ſubverted the eſtabliſhed Religion of the Nation. Yet in the firſt year of King *Edward*, *Heylin* tells you

that

that he with eight other Biſhops all in their rich *Mitres* and other *Pontificals* ſang a *Maſs* of *Requiem*, for the Soul of *Francis* the French King then lately deceaſed, *Hiſtory Reform. page* 40. Notwithſtanding that he with the reſt of the Privy-Council had a good while before ſent out their *Injunctions* and *Commiſſioners* into all parts of the Nation, and Preachers to attend them; which *Preachers* were particularly inſtructed to diſſwade the people from *praying for the Dead*, from *Diriges* and *Maſſes*, &c. *Heylin, p.* 34. yet *Burnet* would perſwade you, he was a Perſon *of a native ſimplicity*, and *not for Court Policies*, vide p. 302.

A. And beſides all this, did he not hold ſome ſtrange Opinions?

B. Yes, Doctor *Burnet* ſays, he had ſome *particular Conceits* of his own, or ſingular Opinions which he delivered with all poſſible Modeſty, *page* 289. 1 *Vol.*

A. What were thoſe Opinions?

B. You ſhall hear them together, with the excuſe which the Doctor makes for him. Firſt, *That Biſhops and Prieſts were at one time, and were not two things, but one Office in the beginning of Chriſts Religion.* In which Opinion all the Biſhops and Clergy of *England*, except two Biſhops and two Doctors were againſt him. *Burnet*, Collection Records, *page* 223.

2. A Biſhop may make a Prieſt, and ſo may Princes and Governours alſo; and that by the Authority of God committed to them, and the *People* by their *Election*: For as we read that Biſhops have done it, ſo Chriſtian Emperors and Princes uſually have done it; and the People, before Chriſtian Princes were, commonly did Elect their Biſhops and Prieſts.

But all the reſt of the Biſhops and Clergy, except the Biſhop of Saint Davids, *and two or three Doctors, ſaid poſitively, that they found no example either in Scripture, or the ancient Doctors, that any Man beſide a Biſhop hath Authority to make Prieſts.*

3. In the New Teſtament he that is appointed to be a Biſhop, or a Prieſt needeth no Conſecration by the Scripture; for Election or Appointing thereunto is ſufficient. *This all the Biſhops con-*

contradicted (except Saint Davids); saying, that the Apoſtles made Prieſts by impoſition of Hands, with Faſting and Prayer; and Dr. *Redmayn* ſaid, the Office of Prieſthood is too dangerous a thing to be undertaken (*to be ſet upon are his words*) when one is but appointed only; therefore for the Confirmation of their Faith who take in hand ſuch a Charge, and for the obtaining of further Grace requiſite to the ſame, Conſecration was ordained by the holy Ghoſt, and hath been always uſed from the beginning, *page* 230.

4. To this Queſtion, whether a Chriſtian Prince having conquered certain Dominions of Infidels, and having none about him but Lay-men, He and They may not by the Law of God Preach and Teach God's Word, and alſo make and conſtitute Prieſts? *Cranmer* Anſwers poſitively; *It is not againſt God's Law, but contrary they ought indeed ſo to do: and there be Hiſtories that witneſs that ſome Chriſtian Princes, and other Lay men unconſecrate have done the ſame.* Reader, *The Engliſh Biſhops perhaps were not aware of his deſign in propoſing this and ſuch like Queſtions; which was to* nooze *them into a Conceſſion under their Hands, that the Prince might Preach himſelf, and Authorize others to preach* Reformation *in caſe of neceſſity; that is, If his Clergy and Biſhops would not comply, as* Cranmer *knew they would not.*

5. To this Queſtion, Whether a Man is bound by the Authority of this Scripture, *Quorum remiſeritis peccata, remiſſa ſunt*, &c. to Confeſs his ſecret deadly Sins to a Prieſt? He anſwers point blank, *that no Man is bound.* All the Biſhops and Clergy (three or four excepted) honeſtly affirming, that by Authority of thoſe words, Chriſtians are bound to Confeſs their ſecret as well as open Sins: That Prieſts are bound to give Abſolution, but no Prieſt can Abſolve from that Sin which he knows not. Doctor *Treſham* anſwered, Such Confeſſion is a thing moſt Conſonant to the Law of God: and that it is a wiſe point, and a wholſome thing ſo to do. And God (ſaid he) provoketh and allureth us thereunto by giving active Power to Prieſts to Abſolve in theſe words, *Whoſoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted*, &c. It is alſo a ſafer way for Salvation to Confeſs, if we may have a *Prieſt*, *page* 238. *Collections.*

Doctor *Edgeworth* answered worthily, that to obtain Remission of Sin and Recover the Grace of God, a Man is bound by the Law of Nature to take the surer way. And because (said he) we are bound to Love God above all things, we ought by the same Bond to seek the best and surest Remedy for the Recovery of his Grace. Contrition is one way, but because a Man cannot be well assured, whether his Contrition, Attrition or Displeasure for his Sins be sufficient to satisfie Almighty God, or worthy to obtain his Grace; therefore it is necessary to take that way that will not fail, and by which thou mayest be sure; and that is *Absolution* by the Priest, which by Christ's promise will not deceive thee, so that thou put no obstacle or bar in the way; that is, if thou do not then actually Sin inwardly or outwardly, but intend to receive what the Church intends to give Thee by that Absolution. Now the Priest can give thee no Absolution from that Sin which he knows not, therefore thou art bound to confess thy Sin. Thus Doctor *Edgeworth, page* 237. *Burnet's* Collections. *I wish* Cranmer *had half the honesty or piety of this Man.*

Doctor *Leighton* answered, I think such only as have not the knowledge of the Scripture, be bound to confess their secret deadly Sins unto a Priest. Howbeit no Man ought to despise such *Auricular Confession*; for I suppose it to be a Tradition Apostolical, necessary for the unlearned Multitude. *Thus he* page 238. *Collections.*

6. To this Question, Whether only Bishops and Priests may Excommunicate by God's Law; he answers, a Bishop or a Priest by the Scripture is neither commanded nor forbidden to Excommunicate; but where the Laws of any Country giveth him Authority to Excommunicate, there they ought to use the same in such Crimes as the Laws have such Authority in, and where the Laws of the Region forbiddeth them, there they have no Authority at all. And they that be no Priests may also Excommunicate if the Law allow thereunto.

NOTE. *That in Queen* Mary's *days, Catholick Religion being restored by Law,* Cranmer *had by his own Confession no Power of the Keys.*

Keys. Nay, every Conſtable might Excommunicate as well as he, if the Law gave power. Theſe were ſtrange Opinions for an *Archbiſhop* and *Reformer* of the *Faith*; he ſubſcribed thus, '*Thom. Cantuarienſ.* this is my Opinion and Sentence at this preſent, which 'I do not temeariouſly define, but do remit the Judgment there-'of wholly unto your Majeſty, *that was* Henry *VIII.*

A. How does *Burnet* excuſe him for theſe Opinions?

B. Very oddly, as a Man would think, *viz.* it ſeems that afterwards he changed his Opinion, for he ſubſcribed the Book that was ſoon after ſet out, which is directly contrary to theſe Opinions, *that is to ſay, in the year* 1540. *he ſubſcribed to a Book for ſeven Sacraments, for Tranſubſtantiation, for the profitable uſe of Images to put us in mind of the great Bleſſings we have received by our Saviour; for deſiring the Prayers of Saints as Interceſſors, being the Doctrine of the Catholick Church. For the uſe of the Hymn called Ave Maria,* in Commemoration of Chriſts Incarnation and to ſet forth the Praiſes of the bleſſed Virgin. *Of all which particulars he believed not a ſyllable; though he ſubſcribed with the reſt of the Biſhops. Nay,* Burnet *tells you plainly, page* 289. that he was then for reducing the ſeven Sacraments to two, but the Popiſh Party was prevalent at that time. So the old number of ſeven was agreed to *anno* 1540. *that is, the major vote of Biſhops carried it againſt him, and he durſt not but ſubſcribe for fear of King* Henry. *In the year* 1536, *which was but four years before, he gave his ſubſcription to a Book for three Sacraments onely; wherein was declared the neceſſity of* Auricular Confeſſion; *and that it was good to pray unto the Saints to pray for and with us: Of which he believed not a tittle. See* Burnet, page 217. *ſo that by what he ſubſcribed it can never be gathered that he quitted thoſe* ſtrange Opinions.

A. But after all this, did he not renounce the Proteſtant Religion in Queen *Mary*'s days?

B. Yes, the Popiſh Party have but too great advantages againſt him (ſays *Burnet*) in the laſt part of his Life. The Fears of Death wrought that effect on him that he did recant, which he

ſigned *thrice*. *Appendix* to 2. *vol. pag.* 400. So, for all his Recantation, he was led out to be burnt; and then he returned back to his former Doctrines, (*mark this*) and expreſſed his Repentance for his Apoſtacy with all the ſeriouſneſs that was poſſible, *ibid. pag.* 400.

A. I pray, if you have read *Foxes* Book of *Martyrs*, what is his Character there?

B. In Cauſes pertaining to God or his Prince, no man more ſtout or more conſtant than he. 3. *vol p.* 633.

A. Then let us hear the words of his *Recantation* ſet down by *Fox*, which he ſigned thrice, ſays *Burnet*.

B. [I *Thomas Cranmer*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, do renounce, abhor and deteſt all manner of Hereſies and Errors of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, and all other Teachings which be contrary to ſound and true Doctrine. And I believe moſt conſtantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confeſs one holy and Catholique Church viſible, without the which there is no Salvation. And therefore I acknowledge the Biſhop of *Rome* to be Supream Head on Earth; whom I knowledge to be the higheſt Biſhop and Pope, and Chriſts Vicar, unto whom all Chriſtian people ought to be Subject.

And as concerning the Sacraments, I believe and worſhip in the Sacrament of the Altar the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, being contained moſt truly under the forms of Bread and Wine, the Bread, through the mighty Power of God, being turned into the Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and the Wine into his Blood. And in the other ſix Sacraments alſo, like as in this, I believe and hold as the Univerſal Church holdeth, and the Church of *Rome* judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of *Purgatory*, where Souls departed be puniſhed for a time, for whom the Church doth godly and wholſomly pray, like as it doth honour Saints, and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profeſs, that I do not otherwiſe believe than the Catholique Church and the Church of *Rome* holdeth and

and teacheth. I am ſorry that ever I held or thought otherwiſe. And I beſeech Almighty God that of his Mercy he will vouchſafe to forgive me, whatſoever I have offended againſt God or his Church. And alſo I deſire and beſeech all Chriſtian people to pray for me.

And all ſuch as have been deceived either by mine Example or Doctrine, I require them by the Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that they will return to the Unity of the Church, and the Supream Head thereof. So I ſubmit my ſelf unto the moſt excellent Majeſties of *Philip* and *Mary* King and Queen of this Realm of *England*, *&c.* and to all other their Laws and Ordinances; being ready always as a faithful Subject to obey them. And God is my Witneſs, that I have not done this for *favour* or *fear* of any Perſon, but *willingly* and of mine own mind, as well to the Diſcharge of mine own Conſcience, as to the Inſtruction of others.

A. Did he not afterwards retract theſe words?

B. Yes, when he ſaw no hopes of his Pardon; and being brought to the Stake, he made a very good Exhortation to the people, ſaying (as *Fox* relates it,) [It is an heavy caſe to ſee that ſo many Folk ſo much dote upon the Love of this falſe World, and ſo careful for it, (*it ſeems a* Spaniſh *Fryar had given him good hopes of his Life, but without any Authority from the Queen, as* Fox *confeſſes*) that for the Love of God or the World to come they ſeem to care very little or nothing: therefore this ſhall be my firſt Exhortation, that you ſet not your minds overmuch upon this *glozing* world, but upon the world to come, (*I wiſh he had ſeriouſly thought upon this when he ſo obſequiouſly followed all the Appetites of* Henry 8. *by divorcing him firſt from his moſt vertuous and innocent Wife Q.* Katherine, *then from* Ann Bolen, *then from* Ann *of* Cleves;) and to learn to know what this Leſſon meaneth which Saint *John* teacheth, that *the Love of this world is enmity againſt God*, &c. And now for as much as I am come to the laſt end of my life, I ſhall therefore declare unto you my very Faith how I believe, without any colour or diſſimulation;

for

for now is no time to diſſemble, whatſoever I have ſaid or written in times paſt (*mark that*;) and now I come to the great thing that ſo much troubleth my Conſcience more than any thing that ever I did or ſaid in my life; and that is, the ſetting abroad of a Writing (*he means his Recantation*) contrary to the Truth, which now here I renounce and refuſe, as things written with my hand contrary to the Truth, which I thought in my heart, *&c.* And as for the Pope, I refuſe him as Antichriſt, *&c. Fox* 3. *vol. p.* 669, 670.

A. What further inſtances have you met with in *Fox*, of his Conſtancy to his Religion?

B. He did adventurouſly oppoſe himſelf againſt the whole Parliament, diſputing and replying three days together againſt the Statute of Six Articles, *pag.* 641. *that was in the year* 1539.

A. What was the true Reaſon of ſo much Courage, at that time, in a man of ſuch Prudence, that before and after ſtill went along with the Stream.

B. Dr. *Burnet* will inform you. The third Article of that Statute was this, That Prieſts after the Order of Prieſthood might not marry by the Law of God. And if any Prieſt did ſtill keep any Woman whom he had married, and lived familiarly with her as his Wife, he was to be judged a Felon, *&c.* This, ſays *Burnet*, touched *Cranmer* to the quick, for he was then married, *p.* 257, 259. 1. *vol.*

A. Does *Fox* ſay nothing of *Cranmers* Marriage?

B. He tells you, *page* 647. that the King extended ſuch eſpecial Favour unto him, that being not ignorant of his Wife (Neece to *Oſiander*) whom he had married at *Norimberg*, and of his keeping her all the time of the *Six Articles* contrary to Law; he both permitted the ſame, and kept *Cranmers* Counſel.

A. What other particulars have you obſerved in *Fox*?

B. The Lord *Cromwell* was wont to ſay unto *Cranmer*, My Lord of *Canterbury*, you are moſt happy of all men; for you may do and ſpeak what you liſt; and ſay what all men can againſt

gainſt you, the King will never believe one word to your detriment. I am ſure, I take more pains than all the *Council* beſides, and ſpend more largely on the Kings Affairs, as well beyond the Seas as on this ſide; yea, I aſſure you, for very *Spyes* in foreign Realms, at *Rome* and elſewhere, it coſts me above a Thouſand Marks a year; and do what I can to bring matters to light for the commodity of the King and the Realm, I am every day chidden, and many falſe Tales now and then believed againſt me; and therefore you are moſt happy, for in no point can you be diſcredited with the King. The Archbiſhop anſwered, If the Kings Majeſty were not good to me, I were not able to ſtand one whole week. *p.* 643. 3. *vol.*

Fox tells you further, how certain of the Council declared plainly to the King about that time, that the Realm was ſo infected with Hereſies & Heretiques, that it was dangerous for His Highneſs further to permit it; leſt peradventure by long ſuffering, ſuch Contention ſhould ariſe, and enſue in the Realm amongſt his Subjects, that thereby might ſpring horrible Rebellions and Uproars, like as in ſome parts of *Germany* it happened not long ago; the Enormity whereof they could not impute to any ſo much as to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *p.* 641, 642.

But the King, ſays *Fox*, moſt entirely loved him, and always ſtood in his defence whoſoever ſpake againſt him; and once ſaid to ſome Lords of his Council, I proteſt (ſolemnly laying his hand upon his breaſt) by the Faith which I ow to God, I take this man, my Lord of *Canterbury*, to be of all other a moſt faithful Subject to us, and one to whom We are much beholding. *p.* 643.

A. Wherein had he obliged the King?

B. Doctor *Burnet* tells you (*page* 127.) that in the year 1533. the King ſeeing of how great importance it was to the deſigns he was then forming (*namely his Divorce from Queen* Katherine, *his advancement to the title of Supream* Head *of the Church, and ſeizure of Abby lands, &c.*) to fill the See of *Canterbury* with a learned, prudent and reſolute man, but finding none in the Epiſcopal

piſcopal Order, that was qualified to his mind, (*theſe are* Burnets *words*;) and having obſerved a native ſimplicity, joyned with much Courage in Dr. *Cranmer*, he deſigned to raiſe him to that Dignity, and gave him notice of it. *ibid.*

A. Pray, what did they lay to his Charge in Queen *Marys* time, and what Defence did he make?

B. In Saint *Mary*'s Church at *Oxford*, on the 12*th* of *March*, anno 1556. Doctor *Brooks* Biſhop of *Gloceſter* charged him as followeth. My Lord, at this preſent we are ſent by Commiſſion partly from the Popes Holyneſs, partly from the King and Queens moſt excellent Majeſties, not to your utter diſcomfort, but to your comfort, if you will your ſelf; not to judge you, but to put you in Remembrance of what you have been. Neither come we to Diſpute with you, but to Examine you in certain matters, which being done, to make Relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you. And firſt, as Charity doth move us, I think good to exhort you by the words of Saint *John*. *Remember from whence you are fallen, and do your firſt works.* You have fallen from the univerſal Church of Chriſt, from the very true and received Faith of all Chriſtendom, and that by open *Hereſie*: You have fallen from your promiſe to God, from your Fidelity and Allegiance, and that by open Preaching, by Marriage and Adultery: You have fallen from your Sovereign Prince and Queen by open Treaſon, *&c.* and although it may be conjectured that in all your time ye were not upright in the Honour and Faith of Chriſt; but rather ſet up of purpoſe as a fit inſtrument (*note this*) whereby the Church might be ſpoiled and brought into ruin; yet it may appear by many your doings otherwiſe, and I for my part, as it behoveth each one of us, ſhall think the beſt. For who was thought to have more Conſcience of obſerving the Order of the Church? More earneſt in the defence of the real preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar than yee were? Then all things proſpered with you, your Prince favoured you; your Candleſtick was ſet up in the higheſt place of the Church, and the light of your Candle was over all the

the Church. But after ye began to fall by Schiſm, and would ſtoutly uphold the unlawful requeſts of King *Henry* VIII. then began you to fancy unlawful liberty. When yee had exiled a good Conſcience, when you had forſaken God, God forſook you, and gave you over to your own will, and ſuffered you to fall into Schiſm and Hereſie, and from that to Perjury, and from Perjury to Treaſon, and ſo in concluſion, into the full Indignation of our Sovereign Prince, which you may think a juſt puniſhment of God for your other abominable Opinions.

But here peradventure you will ſay to me; what Sir, my fall is not ſo great as you make it. I have not yet fallen from the *Catholick Church*; for that is not the Catholick Church that the Pope is Head of, there is another Church. To which I anſwer, you are as ſure of that as the *Donatiſts* were; for they ſaid, they had the true Church; and that true Chriſtians remained only in *Africa*, where only their Seditious *Sect* was preached. And as you think, ſo thought *Novatus*, that all who did acknowledge the Supremacy of *Rome*, were out of the Church of Chriſt. Saint *Cyprian* defending *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* againſt this *Novatus*, Lib 2. Epiſt. 6. ſaith, *Eccleſia una eſt, quæ cum ſit una, intus & foris eſſe non poteſt.* So that if *Novatus* was in the true Church, then was not *Cornelius*, who by lawful Succeſſion ſucceeded Pope *Fabian.* Here Saint *Cyprian* intends by the whole proceſs to prove, and concludeth thereupon, that the true Church was only *Rome.* But you will ſay perhaps, that you fell not by *Hereſie*; ſo ſaid the *Arrians* alledging *Scripture* for themſelves, and going about to perſwade their *Hereſie* by Scripture.

So did the *Marcions* appeal to Scripture, to Scripture not truly interpreted, but wreſted according to their own Fancies. And the Church replyeth againſt them *qui eſtis vos?* from whence came you? What right have you to the *Scriptures*, which are the *Churches* Inheritance? Alſo yee will deny that yee have fallen by Apoſtacy and breaking your Vow; and ſo *Vigilantius* ſaid, and would admit none to his *Miniſtry*, but ſuch as had their Wives *bagg'd* with Children. What then? ſhall we ſay that *Vigilantius* fell

not, that *Donatus* and *Novatus* were no Scismaticks, because they pretended Scripture in their own Defence? then let every Man believe as he lists, and quote Scripture for it: So that your denyal will not avail you. Therefore I tell you, remember from whence you are fallen. *Age pœnitentiam & prima opera fac.* If yee remember how many yee have brought by abominable Heresie into the way of Perdition, I doubt not but very Conscience would move you, as well for them as for your self, to return again; *qui convertere fecerit peccatorem ab errore vitæ suæ salvam faciet animam suam a Morte & operiet multitudinem peccatorum suorum.* He that shall convert a Sinner from his Wickedness shall save his Soul from Death, and shall cover a multitude of Sins: So on the contrary, it must needs be true, he that perverteth a Soul, and teacheth him the way of Perdition must needs be Damn'd.

Berengarius seemed to fear that danger; provided for it in his Life time, and did not only repent but recant; and not so much for himself as for them whom he had infected by his abominable Heresies. For as he lay on his Death-bed upon the day of *Epiphany*, he demanded of them that were present, is this the day of *Epiphany* and appearing of our *Lord*? They answered him Yes; then (said he) this day shall the Lord appear to me either to my comfort or discomfort. This Remorse argues, that he feared the danger of them whom he had seduced from the Faith of Christ.

Let this move you even at the last point; as your Case is not unlike to *Berengarius*, so let your Repentance be like his, unless you will *according to the hardness of your Heart treasure up wrath against the day of Wrath.*

Well, what is it then, perhaps shame to unsay what you have said may hinder your return. But Saint *Paul*, St. *Cyprian*, and St. *Austin* thought it no shame to repent and agree with the *Catholick* Church. You will say perhaps, your Conscience will not suffer you. But what Conscience is it that would separate you from all the rest of the Christian World? to a liberty which hath no ground in the Holy Scriptures. If you judge this liberty

berty to be good, then you judge all Chriſtendom to do evil beſides your ſelf.

O what a preſumptuous Opinion is this! whereupon to forſake the Church of Chriſt: what is your colour or pretence for this? the Abuſes of the Church? as though in your Church there were no Abuſes, yea that there were: And if you forſake the univerſal Church for Abuſes, why then do you not forſake your own Church, and ſo be flitting from one to another? if you had ſeen Abuſes, the way to reform them was not to make a defection from the *Catholick* Church. He is not a good *Chirurgion* who for a little pain in the Toe would cut off the whole Legg. Ye are like *Diogenes*, who upon a time envying the Garments of *Plato* ſaid, *Ecce calco faſtum Platonis. Plato* anſwered, *Sed majore faſtu.*

But ſome peradventure have animated you to ſtick to your Tackle, bearing you in hand that your Opinion is good, and that yee ſhall dye in a good Quarrel, and God will accept your *Oblation.* But hear what Chriſt ſaith, *if thou come unto the Altar to offer thy* Oblation, *and knoweſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy gift and go and be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy gift.* This he ſaid to all the World, to the end they might underſtand upon what terms their Offerings ſhould be accepted. Remember therefore, before you offer up your Offering, what not one Brother but many Brothers, even all the Church of *Rome* and Church of *England* have to ſay againſt you. I ſay no more than what the Church hath allowed me to ſay: The Sacrifice that is offered out of the Church is not profitable. The Premiſes therefore conſidered; for God's ſake I ſay, *Memor eſto unde excideris & age pœnitentiam & prima opera fac.* Caſt not your ſelf away. Spare your Soul, ſpare them alſo whom you have ſeduced; and let not the Blood of Chriſt be ſhed for you in vain; harden not your Heart, ſubmit to the received verity of all *Chriſtendom*, ſtand not too much in your own conceit, think not your ſelf wiſer then all *Chriſtendom* beſides, leave off your unjuſt Cavils, and believe as the *Ca-*

tholick Church Believes and Teaches you, perſwade your ſelf that *extra eccleſiam non eſt ſalus.* And thus much have I ſaid of Charity; if this poor Exhortation of mine may ſink into your head and take effect with you, then have I ſaid as I would have ſaid, otherwiſe not, as I would but as I could for this preſent, *Fox, page* 650, 651.

The Biſhop of *Gloceſter* having ended his Speech, Doctor *Martyn* takes *Cranmer* in hand, *viz.*

——— Theſe two Princes (meaning *Philip* and *Mary*) finding this noble Realm perverted from the unity of the *Catholick* Church, and perceiving alſo that you do perſiſt in your deteſtable Errors, have made their humble Requeſt unto the Popes Holineſs *Paulus* IV. as Supream head of the Church under Chriſt; declaring to him that whereas you Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Metropolitan of *England*, at your Conſecration took two ſolemn Oaths for your due Obedience to the *See* of *Rome*, to become a true Paſtor of the Flock; yet contrary to your Oath and Allegiance, inſtead of unity have ſowed diſcord, inſtead of Chaſtity, Marriage and Adultery; inſtead of Obedience, Contention; and inſtead of Faith, ye have been the Author of all Miſchief. The Popes Holyneſs conſidering their Requeſt and Petition, hath granted to them that Proceſs ſhould iſſue againſt you: And whereas in this late time yee have excluded both Charity and Juſtice; yet hath his Holyneſs decreed that yee ſhall have both Charity and Juſtice ſhewed unto you.

Alſo the King and Queens Majeſty have appointed us Doctor *Story* and Me their Attorneys. ——— Wherefore I here offer my ſelf as Proctor in the Kings Majeſties behalf. I exhibite certain Articles containing manifeſt Adultery and Perjury. Alſo Books of *Hereſie* made partly by him, partly ſet forth by his Authority, and here I produce him as party, principal to Anſwer to your good Lordſhip.

A. Before you go further, I deſire to underſtand upon what account they laid Treaſon to his Charge.

B. In his Tryal ſet down at large by *Fox*, you ſhall find him

Anſwer-

Anſwering, or rather evading all the other particulars of *Hereſie*, *Incontinency*, *Perjury*; but ſcarce a word of defence as to the matter of *Treaſon*.

A. What ſhould be the reaſon of that?

B. You muſt know that *Edward* VI. dying in the year 1553. *all his Privy Council, the chief of the Nobility, the Mayor and City of* London, (theſe are *Foxes* words) *almoſt all the Judges and chief Lawyers of the Realm, (Juſtice* Hales *only excepted,) Cranmer* and *Ridly* Biſhop of *London* conſpired to advance the Lady *Jane Grey*, and exclude their lawful Sovereign the Princeſs *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter to King *Henry* VIII. Their grand pretence being that otherwiſe the *Proteſtant* Religion could not ſtand; and having Proclaim'd Lady *Jane*, the Lords of the Council writ a Letter to the Princeſs *Mary*, dated *July 9th* 1553. a Copy whereof you may ſee in *Fox*, 3 Vol. *Cranmer* Subſcribing the firſt Man. The Letter begins thus; Madam, *We have received your Letter the* 9th *of this inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed Title to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. For Anſwer whereof, this is to advertiſe you that foraſmuch as our Sovereign Lady Queen* Jane, *is after the Death of our Sovereign Lord* Edward *VI. a Prince of moſt noble Memory, inveſted and poſſeſſed with the juſt and right Title in the Imperial Crown of this Realm ——— you ſurceaſe by any pretence to vex and moleſt any of our Sovereign Lady Queen* Jane, *her Subjects*, &c.

A. How does *Burnet* Apologize for this?

B. Nothing at all for this *Letter*, which is too palpable and too unfortunate to admit of any *colour*. He confeſſes, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was the firſt Man that Subſcrib'd it.

A. But I have heard that he refuſed to ſet his hand (King *Edward* being yet alive) to certain *Articles* for Diſinheriting the Daughters of *Henry* VIII. after they were ſigned by all the Privy-Council, all the Judges and chief Lawyers, except Juſtice *Hales*?

B. Take the account of it thus fairly out of *Burnet*. [*Dudly* Duke of *Northumberland*, finding that nothing went ſo near the King's

King's Heart (*Edward* VI) as the ruin of Religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his Death, when his Sister *Mary* ſhould come to the Crown; upon that, he and his party took advantage to propoſe to him to ſettle the Crown by his Letters Patents on the Lady *Jane Grey*, (*then newly married to* Guilford Dudley, *Northumberlands fourth Son*) how they prevailed with him to paſs by his Siſter *Eliſabeth*, who had been always much in his Favour, I do not ſo well underſtand. But the King being wrought over to this, on the 11*th* of *June*, *Mountague* Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, *Baker* and *Bromly* two Judges, with the King's Attorney and Solicitor were commanded to come to Council. There they found the King with ſome Privy-Counſellors about him. The King told them he did now apprehend the danger the Kingdom might be in by the Succeſſion of his Siſter *Mary*. So he ordered ſome *Articles* to be read to them of the way in which he would have the Crown to deſcend. They objected that an Act of Parliament could not be taken away by any ſuch *Device*; yet the King required them to take the *Articles* and draw a Book according to them. They asked a little time to conſider of it. So having examined the Statute of the firſt year of his *Reign*, they found that it was Treaſon not only after the King's Death, but in his life-time to change the Succeſſion.

Secretary *Petre* in the mean time preſſed them to make haſte; When they came again to the Council, they declared they could not do any ſuch thing; for it was Treaſon. And all the Lords ſhould be Guilty of Treaſon if they went on in it. Upon which the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was not then in the Council Chamber, being advertiſed of this, came in great Fury, calling *Mountague* a Traitor: But the Judges ſtood to their Opinion. They were again ſent for and came on the 15*th* of *June*. The King was preſent, and ſomewhat ſharply asked them, why they had not prepared the Book, as he had ordered them? They anſwered, that whatever they did would be of no force without a *Parliament*. But the King ſaid, he would have it firſt done, and

then

then ratified in Parliament, and therefore required them on their Allegiance to go about it; and ſome Councellors told them, if they refuſed to *Obey* that, they were *Traytors*. This put them in a great Conſternation; and Old *Mountague* thinking it could not be Treaſon, whatever they did in this matter while the King lived, and at worſt, that a Pardon under the great Seal would ſecure him, conſented to ſet about it, if he might have a Commiſſion requiring him to do it, and a Pardon when it was done; both theſe being granted him, he was ſatisfyed. The other Judges being asked, if they would concur, did all agree, being overcome with fear, except *Hales*.

—— But *Cranmer* ſtill refuſed to do it after they had all ſigned it; and ſaid, he would never conſent to the Diſinheriting of the Daughters of his late Maſter. Many Conſultations were had to perſwade him to it; but he could not be prevailed on, till the King himſelf ſet on him, who uſed many Arguments from the danger Religion would otherwiſe be in, together with other Perſwaſions; ſo that by his Reaſons, or rather Importunities, at laſt he brought him to it.

NOTE. *The Doctors excuſe for this unjuſt Act of* Cranmers (*importunity,*) *the ſame that naughty Women are ſaid to pretend for their* Incontinency. *If he did this only as ſubmitting to his* Princes *importunity, how came he after King* Edward's *Death to Subſcribe the aforeſaid Letter? And to do* both *after he had ſaid he he would never conſent to the diſinheriting of King* Henry's *Children? The* Reader *may now underſtand the reaſon why he anſwered little or nothing to the Treaſon objected to him by the Biſhop of* Gloceſter, *becauſe there was too much Truth in it. And methinks this excuſe which* Burnet *makes for him does him no ſervice*; namely, *that he ſtood off a good while, but at laſt with much a do was perſwaded into this Conſpiracy againſt K.* Henry's *Children. How does this anſwer the Character which* Fox *gives of him,* in cauſes pertaining to God and his Prince no Man more ſtout, no Man more conſtant then he. *But whether he was in reality ſo unwilling to this* Action, *is a queſtion which the indifferent Reader may eaſily reſolve: Since*

he

he could not but apprehend that Queen Mary *would call him to an account for the troubles he had brought upon her* Mother, *and indeed upon the whole Church and Kingdom of* England. *For amongst all the Engliſh Biſhops* (anno 1533. *King* Henry *could not find ſuch another Perſon* (*as* Burnet *confeſſes*) *to ſerve him in the See of* Canterbury.

Now as for Mountague *Chief Juſtice of the* Common Plea's, *and the reſt of the Judges who at laſt conſented to the advancement of Lady* Jane Grey; *you may obſerve them ſcrupling the matter not out of Conſcience but apprehenſion of the* Law. All that they deſired was to be indemnified from the danger of *Law.*

A. Now go on to relate how he acquitted himſelf of the other particulars laid to his Charge, *Hereſie, Perjury, Incontinency.*

B. Although he anſwered nothing to the Biſhop of *Gloceſter* concerning the point of Treaſon, yet I remember ſomewhat in *Fox* which he reply'd to Doctor *Martyn* the Queen's *Proctor, viz. I proteſt before God I was no Traytor, but indeed I confeſſed more at my Arraignment than was true. Martyn* returns, *that is not to be reaſoned at this preſent, you know you were condemned for a Traytor. Fox,* page 653. 3 Vol.

A. Is there no more in *Fox* as to that point?

B. Not a word more that I can find.

A. Then proceed as to the particular of *Hereſie.*

B. John Foxes words are theſe, [As for the matter of Hereſie and Schiſm wherewith he was charged, he proteſted and called God to witneſs that he knew none that he maintained: But if that were an Hereſie to deny the Popes Authority and the Religion which the See of *Rome* hath publiſhed to the World theſe later years, then the Apoſtles and Chriſt himſelf taught Hereſie; and he deſired all then preſent to bear him witneſs that he took the Traditions and Religion of that uſurping *Prelate* to be moſt falſe, erroneous and againſt the Doctrine of the whole Scripture.]

That he is the very *Antichriſt* ſo often preached of by the Apo-

Apoſtles and Prophets. For it was moſt evident that he had advanced himſelf above all Emperors and Kings of the World, whom he affirmeth to hold their Eſtates and Empires of him as their Chief, and to be depoſed at his good Will and Pleaſure. —— That he hath brought in *Gods* of his own Framing and invented a new Religion full of Gain and Lucre. —— This Enemy of God and of our Redemption is ſo evidently painted out in the Scriptures by ſuch manifeſt Signs and Tokens, that except a man will ſhut up his Eyes and Heart againſt the Light, he cannot but know him. ——— He is like the Devil in his doings, for the Devil ſaid to Chriſt, if thou wilt fall down and worſhip me, I will give thee all the Kingdoms of the World; even ſo the Biſhop of *Rome* giveth Princes their Crowns being none of his own. Chriſt ſaith that Antichriſt ſhall be, and who ſhall he be? Forſooth he that advanceth himſelf above all other Creatures. Now if there be none other that hath advanced himſelf after ſuch manner beſides the *Pope* (*he forgot* Mahomet) then in the mean time let him be *Antichriſt*. I ſay the Biſhop of *Rome* treadeth under Foot God's Laws and the Kings, *&c.* *Fox*, 3 *Vol. page* 653, *and* 661.

A. This was ſtrange ſtuff coming from the *Metropolitan* of a Nation.

B. But *Fox* admires it, and adds this marginal Note, [*the Pope proved Antichriſt.*

NOTE. Cranmer *little thought that in leſs then one* Century *after his Death, his* Proteſtant *Succeſſors in the See of* Canterbury *ſhould be turn'd out of doors, as the* Limbs *and* Feet *of that great Antichriſt the* Pope: *and that by vertue of his own dear Principle of* Reformation, *the* Scripture *interpreted according to every Man's Judgment of* Diſcretion. *I have ſeen a Book entituled,* The Souldiers Catechiſm, *compoſed for the* Parliaments Army, *& publiſhed in the year* 1644 *where this among other Queſtions being put,* What is it that you chiefly aim at in this War againſt the King? *The Anſwer is,* 1. *At the pulling down of* Babylon, *and rewarding her as ſhe hath ſerved us,* Pſal. 137. 8. 2. *At the ſuppreſſion of an Anti-*

christian Prelacy, consisting of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, *&c.* 3. *At the Reformation of a most corrupt, lazy, infamous, superstitious, soul-murdering Clergy.* 4. *At the advancement of Christ's Kingdom, and the purity of his Ordinances.* 5. *At the bringing to Justice the Enemies of our Church and State.* 6. *At the preservation and continuance of the Gospel to our Posterity. And to this Question,* Is it not a lamentable thing that Christians of the same Nation should thus imbrue their Hands in one anothers Blood? *The Answer is, I confess it is; but as the case now stands, there is an inevitable and absolute necessity of fighting laid upon the good People of the Land.*

2. *The whole Church of God calls upon us to come into the help of the Lord and his People against the Mighty.*

3. *We are not now to look at our enemies as Country Men, or Kinsmen, or fellow* Protestants; *but as the Enemies of God and our Religion, and Siders with* Antichrist; *and so our eye is not to pity them, nor our Sword to spare them,* Jerem. 48. 10.

And to this Question. who do you think are the Authors and Occasioners of this unnatural War? *The Answer is, the Jesuites those Fire-brands of mischief with all the Popish Party.* 2. *The Bishops and the rotten Clergy with all the Prelatical Party,* &c.

This Book was printed in the year 1644. *and licensed by* James Cranford, *a* Presbyterian *Ringleader of those times. In the Title page whereof, you shall find these words, viz.* Written for the Instruction and Encouragement of all that have taken up Arms in the Cause of God and his People, *&c. In which Book the* Reader *shall find them* driving the Nail to the Head, *and expounding the* Scripture *against the* Protestant Hierarchy, *just as* Cranmer *had done against the* Pope *and Church of* Rome: *For you must know the time when* Cranmer *answered thus invectively against the* Pope, *was the year* 1556. *the* Parliament, *the National* Church *and Clergy of* England *being then actually reconciled to the Church of* Rome, (*as you may find both in* Burnet *and* Fox,) *so that his Authority for saying,* the Pope had brought in Gods of his own framing, *was then the very same with that of the* Presbyterians *anno* 1644. *for*

calling

calling the Engliſh *Biſhops* Antichriſts, *namely the* Scripture *interpreted by himſelf.*

A. It ſeems *Cranmer* was then a *Schiſmatique*, as well from the eſtabliſhed Church of *England*, as *Rome*; namely in the year 1556.

B. Yes; for Catholique Religion was then reſtored by Act of *Parliament*, with all the Catholique Biſhops, who had been ejected by the Privy Council of *Edward 6.* So that I think it no eaſie matter to reſolve you of what Church was *Cranmer* at that time: a *Lutheran* he was not, nor yet a *Calviniſt*, nor of the Church of *England* then eſtabliſhed by Law.

A. His Church was then in *Utopia.* Go on to the reſt of his Story.

B. Thus you ſhall find him anſwering to the Charge of Dr. Martyn, *viz.* [I will never conſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, (*ſo he would never conſent to the Diſinheriting of King* Henrys *Children,*) for then ſhould I give my ſelf to the Devil. I have made an Oath to the King, and muſt obey the King by Gods Laws. By the Scripture the King is Chief, and no Foreign perſon in his own Realm above him. There is no Subject, but to a King. I am a Subject, I ow my Fidelity to the Crown (*to the Lady* Jane Grey,) the Pope is contrary the Crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can ſerve two Maſters at once, as you in the beginning of your Oration declared by the *Sword* and the *Keys*; attributing the *Sword* to the King, and the *Keys* to the Pope: but I ſay, the King hath *both.* Therefore he that is ſubject to *Rome* and the Laws of *Rome* he is perjured, *&c. Fox pag.* 653.

NOTE. *In his Opinion the King has both the Power of the Sword and of the Keys. This muſt needs be a man after King* Henrys *own heart: but if this Doctrine be true, then Queen* Mary *had the Power of the Keys; and our preſent Sovereign King* James II. *muſt have the ſame Power alſo.*

He proceeds. Now as concerning the *Sacrament*, I have taught no falſe Doctrine of the Sacrament of the *Altar.* For if it can be proved by any *Doctor* above a thouſand years after *Chriſt*, that

Chriſts Body is there *really*, I will give over. My Book was made ſeven years ago, and no man hath brought any Authors againſt it. I believe, that who ſo eateth and drinketh that Sacrament, *Chriſt* is within them, whole Chriſt, his Nativity, Paſſion, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion, but not that *corporally* that ſitteth in Heaven—— *Fox ibid.*

Here Dr. Story, *another of the Queens Proctors, interrupted him*, ſaying, Pleaſeth it you to make an end.

To which he replyed, Now I have declared why I cannot with my Conſcience obey the *Pope*; neither ſay I this for my Defence, but to declare my Conſcience for the Zeal that I bear to Gods Word trodden under foot by the Biſhop of *Rome*. See the reſt in *Fox, pag.* 654.

Then Doctor Story *ſtood up and ſaid* (addreſſing himſelf to the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*,) Pleaſeth it your good Lordſhip, becauſe it hath pleaſed the King and Queens Majeſty to appoint my Companion and me to hear the Examination of this man, to give me leave ſomewhat to talk in that behalf: although I know that in *talk* with *Hereticks* there cometh hurt to all men; for it wearieth the ſtedfaſt, troubleth the doubtful, and enſnareth the weak and ſimple; yet becauſe he ſaith, he is not bound to anſwer your Lordſhip ſitting for the Popes Holyneſs, becauſe of a *Premunire* and the *Word of God*, as he pretends; I think good ſomewhat to ſay, that all men may ſee how he runneth out of his race of Reaſon into the rage of common Talk. And as the King and Queens Majeſty will be glad to hear of your moſt charitable dealing with him, ſo will they be weary to hear the blundering of this ſtubborn *Heretick*. And where he alledgeth Divinity minling *fas nefásque* together, he ſhould not have been heard. For ſhall it be ſufficient for him to alledge, the *Judge* is not competent; and ſhall we diſpute *contra eum qui negat principia?* Although there be here a great company of learned men, that know it unmeet ſo to do; yet have I here a plain *Canon* whereby he is convicted *ipſo facto*.

The *Canon* is this; *Sit ergo ruinæ ſuæ dolore proſtratus, quiſquis*

quis Apoſtolicis voluerit contraire Decretis: nec locum deinceps habeat inter Sacerdotes ſed exors à ſancto ſiat Miniſterio, &c.

He hath alledged many matters againſt the *Popes* Supremacy, but maliciouſly. Ye ſay that the King in his Realm is Supream Head of the Church. Well Sir, you will grant me, that there was a perfect *Catholique Church* before any King was Chriſtened. Then if it were a perfect Church, it muſt needs have a Head; which muſt needs be before any King was *member* thereof. For you know *Conſtantinus* the Emperor was the firſt *Chriſtian* King that ever was; and although you are bound (as St. *Paul* ſaith) to obey your Rulers, and Kings have Rule over the People, yet doth it not follow that they have *Cure of Souls*: For *à fortiori* the Head may do what the Miniſter cannot do; but the Prieſt may conſecrate, and the King cannot: therefore the King is not Head of the Church. ——— And where the Apoſtles do call upon men to obey their Princes, *cui Tributum, Tributum, cui Vectigal, Vectigal*; the Exhortation extendeth only to Temporal matters; they perceiving that men were bent to *Liberty* and Diſobedience, were enforced to exhort them to Obedience and Payment of their Tribute.

And again, where you ſay that the Biſhop of *Rome* maketh Laws contrary to the Laws of the Realm, that is not true; for this is a maxim in the *Law*, *Quod in particulari excipitur non facit univerſale falſum.* And as touching that monſtrous talk of your *Conſcience*, that is no Conſcience that ye profeſs: it is but *privata Scientia* and *Secta.* As yet you have not proved, for all your glorious *Babble*, that by *Gods Laws* ye ought not to anſwer the Popes Holineſs: The Canons which be received in all Chriſtendom compel you to anſwer. And although this Realm of late time, through ſuch *Schiſmatiques* as you were, hath exiled and baniſhed the Canons, yet that cannot make for you: for you know your ſelf, that *pars in totum nihil ſtatuere poteſt.* Wherefore this *Iſland*, being indeed but a *member* of the whole Church, could not determine againſt the *whole.* And the ſame *Laws* that were put away by *Parliament*, are now received again by a *Parliament*

liament, having as full Authority now as they had then. And theſe Laws *will* now that ye anſwer to the *Popes* Holineſs. Therefore by the Laws of this Realm ye are bound to anſwer him. (*This was materially replied to* Cranmers *words, that he would never conſent that the Biſhop of* Rome *ſhould have any Juriſdiction in* England.) Whereſore, my good Lord, all that this *Thomas Cranmer* (I cannot otherwiſe term him, conſidering his Diſobedience) hath brought for his Defence, ſhall nothing prevail with you. Require him therefore to anſwer directly to your good *Lordſhip*; command him to ſet aſide his Trifles, and to be obedient to the Laws and Ordinances of this Realm, take witneſs here of his ſtubborn Contempt againſt the King and Queens Majeſties, and compel him to anſwer directly to ſuch Articles as we ſhall here exhibit againſt him; and in refuſal, your good Lordſhip is to excommunicate him. Thus Dr. *Story*, *Fox page* 654, 655.

NOTE. *Here his Fidelity to the* Laws, *ſo long as they ſerve his turn; the King, Queen, Parliament and Laws were then Popiſh. He was for the Laws made by himſelf and the Duke of* Somerſet *under the* Childhood *of* Edward. 6.

A. Did he anſwer nothing further to the Charge of *Hereſie*.

B. Nothing but this; He pulled an Appeal out of his left Sleeve (ſays *Fox*) which he delivered to the *Court*, ſaying, I appeal to the next *General Council*—— And further, I intend to ſpeak nothing againſt *one holy Catholique and Apoſtolical Church*, or the Authority thereof; the which Authority I have in great Reverence, and whom my mind is in all things to obey, *pag.* 663. 3 *vol. The very words of his Appeal.*

A. What did he mean by one holy Catholique Church?

B. His Definition of it you may find in the Thirty nine *Articles* of the Church of *England*; which Articles were framed (as *Burnet* thinks) by him and *Ridley*, and firſt publiſhed *anno* 1551. *p.* 166. 2. *vol.*

The viſible Church of Chriſt (ſaith the 19*th* Article) *is a Congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached*

preached, and the Sacraments duly miniſtred according to Chriſts Ordinance; in all thoſe things that of neceſſity are requiſite to the ſame. Now in the year 1556. when *Cranmer* preſented this Appeal, there could not be in his opinion any ſuch National or Catholique Church viſible on the face of the Earth.

A. I pray make that appear.

B. By an *Induction* of all the Churches in the world, that then profeſſed themſelves *Chriſtians*; as the *Roman*, the *Eaſtern*, the Church of *England*, the *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, &c. the *Roman* in his opinion was but the *Synagogue* of *Antichriſt*. The *Greek* Church conſented with the *Roman* in moſt of the Doctrines controverted betwixt Papiſts and Proteſtants, as the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, Adoration of the *Euchariſt*, Veneration of *Images*; Invocation of Saints, Prayer for the Dead, &c. and do conſent at this day. The Church of *England* was then newly reconciled to *Rome*, and Catholique Biſhops reſtor'd to their own *Sees* by Act of Parliament. The *Lutherans* did then and at this day adore a corporal preſence in the Sacrament; and therefore cannot be ſaid (in his opinion) to have *the pure Word of God preached, and the Sacraments duely adminiſtred according to Chriſts Ordinance.* The *Calviniſts* had no Orders of Prieſts and Biſhops, conſequently no Church at all.

A. How, no Church at all, for want of Prieſts and Biſhops! let that appear, I pray you.

B. Read the Church of *Englands* Preface to the *Form* appointed by her for making and conſecrating of *Biſhops*, *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, and there obſerve theſe words, *viz. It is evident unto all men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apoſtles time there hath been theſe Orders of Miniſters in Chriſts Church*, Biſhops, Prieſts *and* Deacons; *which Offices were evermore had in ſuch reverent eſtimation, that no man by his own* private Authority *might preſume to execute any of them, except he were firſt called*, &c. And Biſhop *Bramhall* affirms with great aſſurance, *Among all the Eaſtern, Southern and Northern Chriſtians, who make innumerable multitudes, there neither is nor ever*

was

was one formed Church that wanted Biſhops ——— *among all the Weſtern Churches and their Colonies, there never was one formed Church for* 1500 *years that wanted Biſhops. If there be any perſons ſo far poſſeſſed with prejudice, that they chooſe rather to follow the private dictates of their own Phrenſy than the perpetual and univerſal practice of the* Catholique Church, *enter not into their Secrets, O my Soul.* Biſhop *Bramhall,* Conſecration of Proteſtant Biſhops vindicated, *p.* 431. of his *Works* printed at *Dublin.* And you know the Church of *England's* practice at this day, which admits of no *Calvinian* Miniſters into her Clergy without *Epiſcopal* Ordination.

NOTE, *Thus it appears by an Induction of all the ſeveral Denominations of Chriſtians, that in* Cranmers *opinion, there could be no ſuch National or Catholique Church extant upon the face of the earth,* anno 1556. *as that which the Church of* England *defines* (Article 19*th*) The viſible Church of Chriſt is a Congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duely adminiſtred according to Chriſts Ordinance, in all thoſe things that of neceſſity are requiſite to the ſame. *So that his ſaying* [I reverence the Authority of the Catholick Church] *was but an illuſion or vain pretence to avoid the Cenſure of Hereſie: his* Catholique Church *at that time being like* Terra incognita *in our Maps, not as yet found out. What tolerable excuſe* (Good Reader) *canſt thou invent for this* Reformer? *have* Lutherans, Papiſts, Calviniſts, Anabaptiſts, Socinians, Greek Church, &c. *all thoſe things that of neceſſity are requiſite to the preaching of Gods pure Word, and due Adminiſtration of Sacraments according to Chriſts Ordinance? If ſo, then ſhew me a ſolid reaſon, if thou canſt, why a Church of* England *man ſhould not receive the Sacraments of all or any of theſe* Sects? *If the Church of* Rome *have all thoſe things that of neceſſity are requiſite,* &c. *how or where ſhall* Cranmer *appear at the day of Judgment? If ſhe have not, then how is ſhe a Member of Chriſts* viſible Church, *as* Proteſtants *ſay ſhe is?* A corrupt Member *perhaps you will call her; but if ſhe wants any thing* neceſſary or eſſential *to a Chriſtian Church, ſhe is no member*

Member at all. If ſhe errs only *in matters not* Fundamental *or* non-eſſential (*as is confeſſed by very learned* Proteſtants) *ſhe is ſecure ſtill,* but thou art not ſecured from *Schiſm. If ſhe holds all things neceſſary to Salvation, and no Error that deſtroys the Chriſtian Faith,* ſhe may be ſaved, *and what more wouldſt thou have? But whether ſhe does or does not hold any Errors* deſtructive of Salvation, *I pray who ſhall be* Judge? *Anſwer that* ſhort Queſtion, *if thou wouldſt ſay any thing to the* purpoſe. *What Authority had* Cranmer *to call the Pope* Antichriſt, *more than the* Pope *had to pronounce him an* Heretick? He ſwore Obedience to the Pope, which the Pope never did to him. He divorced Queen *Katherine,* ſtyling himſelf *Legatus a Latere,* as you may find in *Burnet.*

A. But he appealed to a *General Council,* what did he mean by that?

B. Nothing, but to divert the proceedings of the *Court*; for he valued the Authority of *General Councils* as little as he did that of the Catholick Church.

A. Pray make that out.

B. Burnet acquaints you, *page* 176. 1 *Vol.* [He (*viz. Cranmer,*) ſaid ſome General Councils had been rejected by others; and it was a tender point how much ought to be deferred to a Council. ——— And as all God's Promiſes to the people of *Iſrael* had this Condition implyed within them, *if they kept his Commandments*; ſo he thought the Promiſes to the Chriſtian Church had this Condition in them, *if they kept the Faith:* Therefore (ſays *Burnet*) he had much doubting in himſelf as to *General Councils,* and he thought that only the *Word of God* was the Rule of Faith, which ought to take place in all Controverſies of Religion. *This he ſaid in the year* 1534.

NOTE. *The word of God admits of various Interpretations; the Queſtion is, Who ſhall determine which is the true Interpretation? a General Council, or* Cranmer's *private Spirit in Oppoſition to that* Council?

But his Opinion of General Councils appears further from the XXI. Article of the Church of *England, viz. General Councils when*

they are gathered together, forasmuch as they be an Assembly of men (whereof all be not governed by the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and sometime have erred in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things Ordained by them as necessary unto Salvation have neither strength nor Authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

NOTE. *But who shall take upon him to judge of the Decrees of General Councils, whether they be Consonant to Scripture or not? shall any single Person? Or any particular Church? Where is the Modesty of that? Shall any inferiour Authority take upon it self to contradict or reverse the Decrees of a Superiour? If so, then why may not any single* Minister *or* Bishop *of the Reformed Church protest against the Judgment of a* Protestant Convocation? If he may not do it without Censure, how shall the Church of *England*, being but a particular Church, take upon her self to damn and contradict the Faith of all the rest of the Christian World?

A. Shew me where she assumes any such Authority.

B. Read her XIX *Article*, viz. *as the Church of* Jerusalem, Alexandria *and* Antioch *have erred, so also the Church of* Rome *hath erred not only in their Living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of* Faith. Then see the third part of her Homily against peril of Idolatry, and observe these words. ——— *So that Laity and Clergy, learned and unlearned, all Ages, Sects and Degrees of Men, Women and Children of whole Christendom (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think) have been at once drowned in abominable Idolatry, and that by the space of eight hundred years and more.*

NOTE. *Here the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *that Christ had no Church upon earth for the space of eight hundred years and more before* Cranmer: The same *Homily* teaches further, *viz.* and at the last the learned also were carried away with the publick Error, as with a violent stream or flood: And at the second Council of *Nice*, the Bishops and Clergy decreed, that *Images* should be worshipped, and so by occasion of these stumbling Blocks, not only the unlearned and simple, but the learned and wise,

wiſe, not only the People but the Biſhops, not the Sheep, but alſo the Shepherds themſelves (who ſhould have been Guides in the right way) as blind Guides of the blind fell both into the pit of damnable Idolatry. In the which all the World, as it were drowned, continued until our Age by the ſpace of above eight hundred years unſpoken againſt in a manner, &c.

A. But don't you wrong the Church of *England* in Attributing this Doctrine to her, *that Chriſt had no Church upon Earth for the ſpace of eight hundred years and more before the Reformation?* Since a Church may be drowned in damnable Idolatry, and yet (as Proteſtants ſay) be a true Church of *Chriſt* at the ſame time? Does not Mr. *King* the Preacher of St. *Warbroughs Dublin*, (a *young* man of that profound Learning, that he can ſee as far into a *Milſtone* as another) make it out evidently againſt D. *Manby*, as the common ſenſe of *Proteſtant* Controvertiſts, that the Idolatry charged on the Church of *Rome* is conſiſtent with the *Being* of a Church? There is a ſort of Idolatry *which men incur by giving ſome part of that honour to a Creature* (ſaith he) *which God has reſerved for himſelf; or asking thoſe things of Creatures which God only can give; and 'tis with this the Church of* Rome *ſtands charged.* Anſwer, *page* 58.

B. Remember the Church of *England*'s Deſcription of Chriſt's Church (*Article* 19.) [The Viſible Church of Chriſt is a Congregation of Faithful Men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duly miniſtred according to Chriſt's Ordinance in all thoſe things that of neceſſity are requiſite to the ſame,] and tell me ingeniouſly whether you think Mr. *King*'s Charge of *Idolatry* is conſiſtent with ſuch a Viſible Church of Chriſt? And where that Viſible Church of Chriſt dwelt upon the face of the Earth before the Reformation?

A. Well, ſo much for his defence againſt the Charge of *Hereſie* and appealing to a *General Council.* Go on to the other particulars of *Perjury* and *Incontinency.*

B. As to his *Perjury*, obſerve the diſcourſe between him and Doctor *Martyn.* *Fox, page* 655. 3 *Vol.* [*Martyn.* But Sir, You

that pretend to have ſuch a Conſcience to break an Oath; I pray did you never ſwear and break the ſame?

Cranmer. I remember not.

Martyn. I will help your memory, did you never ſwear Obedience to the See of *Rome*?

Cranmer. Indeed I did once ſwear unto the ſame.

Martyn. Yea, that ye did twice, as appeareth by Records and Writings here ready to be ſhewn.

Cranmer. But I remember I ſaved all by *Proteſtation* that I made by the counſel of the beſt learned men I could get at that time.

Martyn. Hearken, good people, what this man ſaith; he made a Proteſtation one day to keep never a whit of that which he intended to ſwear next day. Was this the part of a Chriſtian? If a Chriſtian man ſhould bargain with a *Turk*, and before he maketh his Bargain ſhould proteſt ſolemnly before one or two, that he minds not to perform whatſoever he ſhall promiſe to the *Turk*. I ſay, if a Chriſtian man ſhould ſerve a *Turk* in this manner, that the Chriſtian were worſe than the *Turk*. What would you ſay then to this man that made a ſolemn Oath and Promiſe unto God and his Church, and made a *Proteſtation* before quite contrary?

Cranm. That which I did, I did by the beſt learned mens advice I could get at that time.

Martyn. I proteſt before all the learned men here, that there is no Learning will ſave your Perjury herein. ——— Will you have the truth of the matter? King *Henry* 8. even then meant the lamentable *Change* which after came to paſs. And to further his pitiful proceeding, from the Divorce of his moſt lawful Wife, to a deteſtable departure from the bleſſed Unity of Chriſts Church, this man made the aforeſaid *Proteſtation*. —— And on the other ſide, he letted not to take two ſolemn Oaths quite contrary; and why? for otherwiſe by the Laws and Canons of this Realm he could not aſpire to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*.

Cranm.

Cranm. I proteſt before you all, never man came more unwillingly to a Biſhoprick, than I did to that; in ſo much that when King *Henry* did ſend for me in Poſt that I ſhould come over, I prolonged my Journey by ſeven weeks at the leaſt, thinking that he would forget me in the mean time.

Martyn. You declare well by the way, that the King took you to be a man of good Conſcience, who could not find within all his Realm any man to ſet forth his ſtrange attempts; but was inforced to ſend for you in Poſt out of *Germany*. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a Contract between you (being then Queen *Anns* Chaplain) and the King; Give me the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and I will give you *Licenſe* to live in *Adultery*.

Cranm. You ſay not true.

Martyn. Let your Proteſtation, joined with the reſt of your Talk, give Judgment. *Hinc prima mali labes.* Of that your execrable Perjury, and his coloured and too ſhamefully ſuffered Adultery came *Hereſie* and all Miſchief into this Realm. And thus have I ſpoken as touching the Conſcience you pretend for breaking your Heretical Oath made to the King. But of breaking your former Oath, made at two ſundry times both to God and his Church, you have no Conſcience at all. And now to anſwer the other part of your Oration, wherein you bring in Gods Word, that you have it on your ſide, and no man elſe; and that the Pope hath deviſed a new *Scripture* contrary to the *Scriptures* of God. Ye play herein as the *Phareſees* did, who cried always, *Verbum Domini, Verbum Domini, the Word of the Lord, the Word of the Lord*, when they meant nothing ſo: This betters not your Cauſe; for *Baſilides* and *Photinus* the Heretiques ſaid, they had Gods Word to maintain their *Hereſie*; ſo *Neſtorius*, ſo *Macedonius*, ſo *Pelagius*, and briefly all the Heretiques that ever were, pretended Gods Word for themſelves: Yea, and the Devil, the Father of Hereſies, alledged Gods Word for himſelf, ſaying, *ſcriptum eſt, it is written*; ſo ſaid he to Chriſt, *mitte te deorſum, caſt thy ſelf downward*, which you applied moſt falſely againſt the

Pope.

Pope. And if you mark well the Devils language, it agreed with your proceedings moſt truly. For *mitte te deorſum, caſt thy ſelf downward* (ſaid he); and ſo taught you to caſt all things downward; down with the *Sacrament*, down with the *Maſs*, down with the *Altars*, down with the *Arms* of Chriſt, and up with a *Lyon* and a *Dog*; down with the *Abbies*, Hoſpitals, Chauntries and Colledges; down with Faſting and Prayer; yea, down with all that good and godly is: all your proceedings and preachings tended to no other end, but to fulfill the Devils requeſt, *mitte te deorſum*: and therefore tell us not that you have Gods Word; for God hath given us by his Word a *mark* to know that your Teaching proceeded not of *God*, but of the *Devil*; and that your Doctrine came not of *Chriſt*, but of *Antichriſt*. For Chriſt foretold there ſhould ariſe againſt his Church *Lupi rapaces, ravening Wolves*, and *Pſeudo-Apoſtoli, falſe Apoſtles*. But how ſhall we know them? Chriſt teaches us, ſaying, *ex fructibus eorum cognoſcetis eos, by their fruits ye ſhall know them*. Why, what be their fruits? St. *Paul* declareth, *Poſt carnem in concupiſcentia & immunditie ambulant, Poteſtates contemnunt, &c. they walk after the fleſh in concupiſcence and uncleanneſs, they contemn Dominions*. Again, *in diebus noviſſimis erunt periculoſa tempora, erunt ſeipſos amantes, cupidi, elati, immorigeri Parentibus, Proditores, &c. in the later days there ſhall be perilous times, men lovers of themſelves, covetous, proud, diſobedient to Parents, Treaſon-workers, &c.*

Whether theſe be not the Fruits of your Goſpel, I refer me unto this worſhipful *Audience*, whether the ſaid *Goſpel* began not with Perjury, proceeded with Adultery, was maintained with Hereſie, and ended in *Conſpiracy*.

Now Sir, two points more I marked in your *raging* diſcourſe that you made here; the one againſt the holy Sacrament, the other againſt the *Popes* Juriſdiction and Authority of the *See Apoſtolique*.

Touching the firſt, you ſay you have *Gods Word*, yea and all the *Doctors*. I would here ask but one Queſtion of you, whether Gods Word be contrary to it ſelf? and whether the *Doctors* teach

teach Doctrine contrary to themſelves? for you, Maſter *Cranmer*, have taught concerning this high Sacrament of the *Altar* three contrary Doctrines, and for every one ye pretended *Verbum Domini*.

Cranmer. Nay, I taught but two contrary Doctrines in the ſame.

Martyn. What Doctrine taught you when you condemned *Lambert* the *Sacramentary* in the Kings preſence at *Whitehall*.

Cranm. I maintained then the *Papiſts* Doctrine.

Martyn. That is to ſay, the Catholique and Univerſal Doctrine of *Chriſts Church*. And how, when K. *Henry* died, did you not tranſlate *Juſtus Jonas*'s Book?

Cranm. I did ſo.

Martyn. There you defended another Doctrine touching the Sacrament: by the ſame token, that you ſent to *Lynne*, your Printer, that whereas in the firſt Print there was an *Affirmative*, that is to ſay, Chriſts Body really in the Sacrament, you ſent then to your *Printer* to put in a *not*; wherby it came miraculouſly to paſs, that Chriſts Body was clean conveyed out of the Sacrament.

Cranm. I remember there were two Printers of my ſaid Book, but whether the ſame *not* was put in, I cannot tell.

Martyn. Then from a *Lutheran* ye became a *Zwinglian*, which is the vileſt *Hereſie* of all, concerning the high Myſtery of the Sacrament, (and for the ſame Hereſie you did help to burn *Lambert* the *Sacramentary*,) which you now call the *Catholique Faith*, and *Gods Word*.

Cranm. I grant, that then I believed otherwiſe than I do now; and ſo I did until my Lord of *London*, Dr. *Ridley*, did confer with me, and by ſundry Perſuaſions and Authorities of *Doctors* drew me quite from my Opinion.

Martyn. Now, Sir, as touching the laſt part of your *Oration*, you denied the *Popes* Holineſs was Supream *Head* of the Church of Chriſt.

Cranm. I did ſo.

Mart

Mart. Who ſay you then is Supream Head?

Cranm. Chriſt.

Mart. But whom hath Chriſt left here on Earth, his *Vicar* and Head of his Church?

Cranm No body.

Mart. Ah, why told you not King *Henry* this, when you made him Supream Head? and now *no body* is. This is *Treaſon* againſt his own Perſon, as you then made him.

Cranm. I mean not, but that every King in his own Realm and Dominion is Supream Head: and ſo was he Supream Head of the Church of Chriſt. [*Reader, Obſerve here how he makes the Catholique Church an* Hydra *of many Heads, inſtead of that* one holy Society *which he pretended to believe in the two Creeds.*

Martyn. Is this always true, and was it ever ſo in Chriſt's Church?

Cranm. It was ſo.

Martyn. Then what ſay you to *Nero*, was he Head of Chriſts Church?

Cranm. *Nero* was *Peters* Head.

Martyn. I ask whether *Nero* was *Head* of the Church or no? If he were not, it is falſe that you ſaid before, that all Princes be and ever were *Heads* of the Church within their Realms.

Cranm. Nay it is true, for *Nero* was Head of the Church; that is, in reſpect of the temporal Bodies of Men, of whom the Church conſiſteth; for ſo he beheaded *Peter* and the *Apoſtles.* And the *Turk* too is Head of the Church in *Turky.*

Martyn. Then he that beheaded the *Heads* of the *Church*, and crucified the Apoſtles, was *Head* of Chriſts Church; and he that was never *Member* of the Church is *Head* of the Church, by your new-found underſtanding of *Gods Word. Fox pag.* 655, 656. 3. *vol.*

NOTE *If the* Turk *be* Head *of the Church under Chriſt, he muſt be ſo in all Spiritual things or cauſes as well as temporal, according to the Oath of Supremacy contrived by* Cromwell *and* Cranmer, *and at this day ſworn by* Proteſtants.

A.

A. What is *Foxes* opinion of this Dialogue?

B. It is not to be ſuppoſed otherwiſe, but much other matter paſſed in this Communication between them, eſpecially on the Archbiſhops behalf, whoſe Anſwers I do not think to be ſo ſlender, nor altogether in the ſame *form* of words framed, if the truth, as it was, might be known. But ſo it pleaſed the *Notary* thereof, being too partially addicted to his Mother *See* of *Rome* in favour of his Faction, to diminiſh and drive down the other ſide, either in not ſhewing all, or in reporting the thing otherwiſe than it was, as the common *Guiſe* is of moſt Writers (*and of* Fox *himſelf*) to what ſide their Affection moſt weigheth, their Oration commonly inclineth. *Fox p.*657. 3. *vol.*

A. It ſeems then *Fox* likes not theſe Anſwers given by *Cranmer*, and therefore ſuſpects the *Penman*, or *Notary*, of partiality in reporting the ſame.

B. But I believe it a true Report for two reaſons; firſt, the cauſe would admit of no ſatisfactory anſwers. 2. Let the Reader ſee the *Contents* of *Cranmers* Appeal, ſet down by *Fox*, and there obſerve theſe words, *viz.* —— And when I refuſed the Bp. of *Gloceſter* to be my Judge for moſt juſt cauſes, which I then declared, he nevertheleſs went on ſtill, and made Proceſs againſt me, contrary to the Rules of *Appealing*, which ſay, *A Judge that is refuſed, ought not to proceed in the cauſe, &c.* —— And with this my *Proteſtation* made and admitted I made anſwer, but mine Anſwer was ſudden and unprovided (*note this*); and therefore I deſired to have a Copy of mine Anſwers, that I might put to, take away, change and amend them; and this was alſo permitted me; nevertheleſs, contrary to his promiſe made unto me, no reſpect had to my Proteſtation, nor licenſe given to amend mine Anſwer; the ſaid reverend Father Biſhop of *Gloceſter* (as I hear) commanded mine Anſwers to be *enacted*, contrary to the eqnity of the Law; in which thing again I feel my ſelf much grieved. *Fox p.* 664.

NOTE. *Here he excuſes the weakneſs of his own Anſwers, by ſaying, they were ſudden and unprovided. But let the Reader ima-*

gine what better Anſwers in brief could be returned to the Queſtions of Dr. Martin; Cranmer *having ſworn that the King was Supream Head of the Church of* England, *under Chriſt*, as well in all ſpiritual things or cauſes as temporal.

A. But how did he interpret thoſe words, *as well in all ſpiritual things or cauſes as temporal?*

B. Fox tells you, *p.* 662. *viz.* After this Dr. *Martyn* demanded of him, who was Supream Head of the Church of *England?* Marry, quoth my Lord of *Canterbury*, Chriſt is Head of this Member, as he is of the whole Body of the Univerſal Church. Why, quoth Dr. *Martyn*, you made King *Henry* the 8*th.* Supream Head of the Church. Yea, ſaid the Archbiſhop, of all the people of *England*, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal. And not of the Church, ſaid *Martyn?* No, ſaid he, for Chriſt is only Head of his Church, and of the Faith and Religion of the ſame; the King is Head and Governour of his People, which are the viſible Church. What, quoth *Martyn*, you never durſt tell the King ſo. Yes that I durſt, quoth he, and did in the publication of his Stile, wherein he was named Supream Head of the Church, there was never other thing meant. *page* 662. *This is* Foxes *account of the Dialogue, received, as he ſays, from a better hand.*

A. Did he anſwer any thing further concerning the *Perjury* objected to him.

B. Fox tells you, Others who were preſent (*at his Tryal*) do thus report the effect of *Cranmers* words. *viz.* —— while he in this ſort made his Anſwer, ye heard before how Dr. *Story* and *Martyn* divers times interrupted him with blaſphemous Talk, and would fain have had the Biſhop of *Gloceſter* to put him to ſilence; who notwitſtanding did not, but ſuffered him to end his Tale at full. After this ye heard alſo how they proceeded to examine him of divers *Articles*; whereof the chief was, that at the time of his creating Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* he was ſworn to the Pope, and had his *Inſtitution* and *Induction* from him; and promiſed then to maintain the Authority of that *See*, and therefore was perjured: wherefore he ſhould rather ſtick to his firſt Oath,

Oath, and return to his old *fold* again, than continue obſtinately in an Oath *forced* in the time of *Schiſm.*

To that he anſwered (ſays *Fox*) ſaving his *Proteſtation* (which *term* he uſed before all his *Anſwers*) that at ſuch time as Archbiſhop *Warham* dyed, he was Ambaſſador in *Germany* for the King; who thereupon ſent for him home; and having intelligence by ſome of his Friends (near about the King) how he meant to beſtow the ſame Biſhoprick upon him, and therefore counſelled him in that caſe to make haſte home; he feeling in himſelf a great inability to ſuch a Promotion, and very ſorry to leave his Study; and eſpecially conſidering by what means he muſt have it, which was clean againſt his Conſcience, which he could not utter without great peril and danger, deviſed an Excuſe to the *King* of matter of great importance, for the which his longer abode there ſhould be moſt neceſſary, thinking by that means in his abſence, the King would beſtow it upon ſome other; and ſo remained there by that device one half year after the King had written for him to come; but after that no ſuch matter fell out, as he ſeemed to make ſuſpicion of, the King ſent for him again. Who after his return, underſtanding ſtill the *Archbiſhoprick* to be reſerved for him, made means by divers of his beſt Friends to ſhift it off; deſiring rather ſome ſmaller *Living*, that he might more quietly follow his Book.

To be brief, when the King himſelf ſpake with him, declaring that his full intention was for his Service ſake (*note this*) and for the good opinion he conceived of him, to beſtow that Dignity upon him.

Fox proceeds. After long diſabling of himſelf, perceiving he could by no perſwaſions alter the Kings determination, he brake frankly his Conſcience with him, moſt humbly craving firſt his *Graces* Pardon for what he ſhould declare unto his *Highneſs*. Which obtained, he ſaid, that if he accepted the Office, he muſt receive it at the *Popes* hand, which he neither would nor could do, His *Highneſs* being the only Supream Governour of this Church of *England*, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal (this was a

Chaplain after King *Henry*'s own Heart.) And therefore if he might in that Vocation ſerve God, the King, and his Country; ſeeing it was his pleaſure ſo to have it, he would accept that Dignity, and receive it of his Majeſty, and of no *Stranger*, who had no Authority within this Realm. Whereat the King, ſaid he, ſtaying a while and muſing, asked me, How I was able to prove that. At which time I alledged many Texts out of *Scripture*, and the *Fathers* alſo, approving the Supream and higheſt Authority of Kings within their own Realms, ſhewing withall the intolerable uſurpation of the Pope of *Rome*.

Afterwards it pleaſed his Highneſs (quoth the Archbiſhop) many and ſundry times to talk with me about it; and perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; the King himſelf called Doctor *Oliver*, and other Civil *Lawyers* to adviſe with them how he might beſtow the Archbiſhoprick upon me, inforcing me nothing againſt my Conſcience; who thereupon informed him, that I might do it by the way of *Proteſtation*; and ſo one to be ſent to *Rome*, who might take the Oath and do every thing in my name; which when I underſtood, I ſaid, he ſhould do it *ſuper Animam ſuam*. And I indeed *bona fide* made by *Proteſtation*: that I did not acknowledge his Authority any further then as it agreed with the expreſs Word of God: And that it might be lawful for me at all times to ſpeak againſt him, and to impugn his Errors when time and occaſion ſhould ſerve me. And this my *Proteſtation* I did cauſe to be inrolled; and there I think it remains.

This (ſays *Fox*) *is the faithful Relation and Teſtimony of certain Perſons that were preſent at his Tryal before the Biſhop of* Gloceſter See *page* 661, 662.

Reader, Remember what Doctor *Martyn* obſerves (*page* 60.) *Hearken good People to what this man ſaith, he makes a* Proteſtation *one day to keep never a tittle of that which he intended to ſwear next day. See the* Tenour *of his Oath to the* Pope, *page* 28. *of this* Catechiſm.

A. What

A. What did he anſwer to the particular of *Incontinency*, or breach of his *Sacerdotal Vow*?

B. Dr. *Martyn* objected, that being in *holy Orders*, after the Death of his firſt Wife, he married a ſecond named *Ann*, and kept her ſecretly in the days of King *Henry* 8. Whereunto he anſwered, that it was better for him to have his own Wife, than to do like other *Prieſts* holding and keeping other mens wives. *But the Queſtion is, whether other mens vices could be any excuſe for him? he ſeems to ſuppoſe here every man to be under a neceſſity of either marrying or committing the ſin of Fornication; notwithſtanding his Vow of* Cœlibate. See *Fox p.* 657.

A. So much for his Charge and Defence before the Biſhop of *Gloceſter, anno* 1556. What did the Biſhop ſay upon the upſhot of the Tryal?

B. He made a long Speech, the effect whereof was this; [Maſter *Cranmer*, (I cannot otherwiſe term you conſidering your obſtinacy) I am right heartily ſorry to hear ſuch words eſcape your mouth ſo unadviſedly: I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I ſuppoſed that this obſtinacy of yours came not of vain Glory, but rather of a corrupt Conſcience; but now I perceive by your fooliſh *babble*, that it is far otherwiſe. Ye are ſo puffed up with Vain Glory; there is ſuch a *cauterium* of Hereſie crept into your Conſcience, that I am clean void of hope. God would have you to be ſaved, and you refuſe it. You have uttered ſuch erroneous talk, with ſuch open malice againſt the *Popes* Holineſs, with ſuch open *lying* againſt the Church of *Rome*, with ſuch open Blaſphemy againſt the Sacrament of the *Altar*, that no mouth could have expreſſed more maliciouſly, more lyingly, more blaſphemouſly.

To reaſon with you, although I would of my ſelf to ſatisfie this *Audience*: yet I may not do ſo by our *Commiſſion*; neither do I find how I may do it by the *Scriptures*; for the *Apoſtle* commandeth, *Hæreticum hominem poſt unum aut alterum conventum, devita, &c.* an heretical perſon after once or twice conferring, ſhun, knowing that he is perverſe, and ſinneth, being of his own Judg-

ment

ment condemned. Ye have been conferred withal not once or twice but oftentimes; ye have oft been lovingly admoniſhed, ye have oft been privately diſputed with; and the laſt year in the open School in open Diſputations ye have been openly convict. Your Book, which ye bragg ye made ſeven years ago, and no man anſwered it, *Marcus Antonius* hath ſufficiently detected and confured: yet ye perſiſt ſtill in your wonted *Hereſie*.

Wherefore being ſo oft admoniſhed, conferred withal, and convicted, if ye deny your ſelf to be the *man* whom the *Apoſtle* noteth, hear then what *Origen* ſaith, who wrote above 1300 years ago, and interpreteth that *ſaying* of the Apoſtle in this wiſe, *in Apologia Pamphili, Hæreticus eſt omnis ille habendus qui Chriſto ſe credere profitetur & aliter de Chriſti veritate ſentit quam ſe habet eccleſiaſtica Traditio.* Ye rehearſed the Articles of your Faith; to what end, I pray you, but to cloak that Hereſie rooted in you, and to blind the poor ſimple and unlearned peoples eyes? for unleſs (as *Origen* ſaith) ye believe all things that the Church hath decreed, ye are no Chriſtian man; in the which, becauſe ye do halt, and will come to no *Conformity*, from henceforth ye are to be taken for an *Heretique*, whom we ought to eſchew and avoid.

And firſt, where you accuſe me of an Oath taken againſt the Bp. of *Rome* I confeſs it, and therefore do ſay with the reſt of this *Realm*, good and Catholique men, the words of the Prophet, *Peccavimus cum Patribus noſtris, injuſte egimus, iniquitatem fecimus. We have ſinned with our Fathers, we have done unjuſtly and wickedly. Delicta juventutis meæ & ignorantias meas ne memineris Domine. The ſins of my youth and my ignorances, O Lord do not remember.* I was then a young man and a young Scholar here in the Univerſity. I knew not what an Oath did mean.

And where you ſay I took two Oaths, the one contrary to the other. It is not ſo; for the Oath I made to the *Popes* Holineſs, appertains only to ſpiritual things: the other that I made to the King, pertains only to temporal things; that is to ſay, that I do acknowledge all my Temporal Livings to proceed only from the

the King, and from none elſe; but all men may ſee, as ye agree in this, ſo ye agree in the reſt of your Opinions.

Now, Sir, as concerning the Supremacy due to the See of *Rome*; although there be a number of places to prove that Chriſt appointed *Peter* Head of the Church, yet this place is moſt evident; when Chriſt demanded of his Apoſtles, *Whom do men ſay that I am?* They anſwered, *Some* Elias, *ſome one of the Prophets*, &c. but to *Peter* he ſaid, *Whom ſayeſt thou that I am? Peter* anſwered, *Tu es Chriſtus filius Dei, &c.* Chriſt replied, *Tu es Petrus & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam.* The Doctors interpreting this place, *ſuper hanc Petram*, expound it, *id eſt, non ſolum ſuper Fidem Petri, ſed ſuper te* Petre. And why did Chriſt change his Name from *Simon* to *Peter*, but only to declare that he was to be (under Chriſt) the *Foundation* and *Head* of the Church.

Again where Chriſt demanded of *Peter*, being amongſt the reſt of the Apoſtles, three times, *Petre amas me?* he gave him charge over his Sheep, *Paſce Oves meas, paſce Agnos meos, paſce Agnos meos*, three times. Which place Saint *Chryſoſtome* interpreting, ſaith, *Paſce, hoc eſt loco mei eſto Præpoſitus & caput fratrum tuorum.* And when they came that required *Didrachma* of Chriſt; he commanded *Peter* to caſt his Net into the Sea, and to take out of the Fiſhes Mouth *ſtateram, hoc eſt, duplex didrachma, & da inquit pro te & me Petre.* Which words do ſignifie that when he had paid for them two, he had paid for all the reſt. So St. *Auſtine* in 75 quæſt. veteris & novi Teſtamenti. *Salvator* (inquit) *quum pro ſe & Petro dari jubebat didrachma, pro omnibus dari cenſuit, ipſum enim conſtituit caput eorum.* *Our Saviour Chriſt* (ſaith St. *Auſtine*) *commanding the Tribute to be given for Him and for* Peter, *meant the ſame to be given for all the reſt. For he appointed him Head of the reſt*: what can be more plain then this? But I will not tarry upon this matter.

Now as touching the *Popes* Laws, which be contrary, as you ſay, to the Laws of God; becauſe the Service is in *Latin*, which ought to be in *Engliſh*. I Anſwer, whoſoever will take the pains

to

to peruſe that Chapter, 1 *Cor.* 14. ſhall find that his meaning is concerning *Preaching*, and *obiter* only of *Praying*.

Again, Where you ſay that the *Popes* Holyneſs takes away one part of the Sacrament from the *Laity*; which Chriſt commanded to be given under both kinds, ſaying, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*. Now if a Man would be ſo proterve with you, he might ſay that Chriſt commanded it to be given only to his *Apoſtles*, into whoſe places ſucceeded *Prieſts*, and not *Laymen*.

And admit that Chriſt commanded it to be received under both kinds. So he commanded his Apoſtles, ſaying, *Ite prædicate Evangelium omni nationi, Baptiſantes in nomine Patris & Filii & ſpiritus ſancti.* But the Apoſtles, being deſirous to publiſh Chriſts name every where, did Baptiſe only in Chriſt's name. Again, Chriſt before his laſt Supper waſhed his Diſciples Feet, ſaying, *Si ego lavi pedes veſtros, &c.* If I being your Lord and Maſter have waſhed your feet, ye alſo ought to waſh the feet of one another. This was a *Precept:* yet hath the Church altered it, leſt the ſimple people ſhould think a *Re-baptization* in it. (*Why do not Proteſtants obſerve Chriſts Inſtitution of waſhing one anothers feet before they receive the Sacrament!*)

So becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith, *Accepi a Domino quod & tradidi vobis, &c. I have received of the Lord the ſame which I delivered unto you, that our Lord the ſame night that he was betrayed*, &c. notwithſtanding Chriſts Precept, that the Sacrament ſhould be adminiſtred after *Supper*, the Church hath commanded it to be received faſting, (*and Proteſtants do receive it before dinner.*) And where Chriſt did break the Bread, we receive the whole *Hoſt*. Chriſt miniſtred ſitting at the Table, we ſtanding at the Altar.

Likewiſe it is commanded in the *Acts*, that Chriſtians ſhould abſtain *à ſuffocato & ſanguine, from things ſtrangled and from blood*; but the Church hath altered it, (*nor do Proteſtants obſerve it.*) God commanded the Sabbath or *Seventh* day to be kept holy, the Church hath altered it to the *Sunday*. If then the *Church* may change things ſo expreſly appointed in *Scripture*, ſhe may

alſo

alſo change the form of the *Laitys* receiving under both kinds, and that for divers reaſons.

Firſt, That in carrying it to the Sick, the *Blood* may not be ſhed, loſt or miſuſed.

Next, That no occaſion might be given to *Heretiques*, to think, that there is not ſo much under one *kind*, as under both.

But why would you have it under both kinds? only to pervert and contradict the Practice of the Church? For when you have it under both kinds, ye believed in neither (*meaning a real preſence in neither.*)

Now, Sir, as concerning the Sacrament of the *Altar*, where you ſay, you have a number of *Doctors* on your ſide, and we none of ours: indeed *one* to ſtop your mouth I think it not poſſible to find. Nevertheleſs, whereas your deſire is to have *one* ſhewed you, and then you will recant, I will ſhew you *two*.

Ferebatur manibus ſuis, ſaith St. *Auſtin ſuper Pſal.* 33. I find not how this is true in *David* (ſaith he) *literally*, that he was born in his own hands: but in Chriſt I find it true *literally*, when he gave his Body to his Apoſtles at his laſt *Supper*.

Again, St. *Cyprian de Cœna Domini* ſaith, *Panis quem Dominus Diſcipulis porrigebat, non effigie ſed natura mutatus, Omnipotentia Verbi factus eſt Caro.* What can be more plain than this? yet to you it is not plain enough. But give me your *figurative*, *ſignificative* and ſuch other like *terms*, and I will defend, that Chriſt hath not yet aſcended, no, nor yet that he was *incarnate*. Wherefore I can only put you in the number of thoſe whom S. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks of, *Audi, homo fidelis, qui contra Hæreticum contendis, &c.* Hear, O thou *Chriſtian*, canſt thou hope to do more than Chriſt? Chriſt confuted the *Phareſees*, yet could not put them to ſilence. *Et tu fortior es Chriſto?* Wilt thou go about to ſilence him that will receive no Anſwer? Thus much have I ſaid, not for you, Mr. *Cranmer*; for my hope that I conceived of you is now paſt and gone: but ſomewhat to ſatisfie the rude & unlearned people, that they, perceiving your Arrogancy, may the better eſchew your deteſtable and abominable Schiſm. *Fox pag.* 658, 659.

Thus ſpake the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, like a *Catholique*, underſtanding Prelate. After whom Dr. *Story* (ſaith *Fox*) thus inferred in words.

Maſter *Cranmer*, you have made a goodly *Proceſs* concerning your *Heretical* Oath made to the King; but you forget your *Oath* made to the *See Apoſtolique*. As concerning your Oath to the *King*, if you made it to him only, it took an end by his Death, and ſo it is releaſed: if to his *Succeſſors*, well, Sir, the true Succeſſors have the Empire now; and they will have you to *diſſolve* the ſame, and become a member of Chriſts Church again: it was no *Oath*, for it lacked the three points of an Oath, that is to ſay, *Juſticiam, Judicium & Veritatem*. Thus Dr. *Story, ibid. p.* 659. *Proteſtants will needs ſwear the King to be Supream in all* Spiritual *things or cauſes, whether the* King *will or no; and when they have ſworn it, they will obey him in ſuch matters ſo far as they think good, when he happens to be a* Papiſt.

A. What followed after this?

B. After all this *Cranmer* made that *Recantation* which you have heard, and retracted it again, when he ſaw no hopes of his *Pardon* —— *He had this reaſon to rejoyce* (ſays *Fox*) *that dying in ſuch a Cauſe, he was to be numbered amongſt Chriſts Martyrs*, (although he had no mind to be a Martyr) *much more worthy the Name of Saint* Thomas *of* Canterbury, *than he whom the Pope had falſly canoniz'd, meaning* Thomas Becket, *p.* 672.

A. Of what Church dyed he a Member?

B. I cannot tell, the Church of *England* being then aboliſhed, and *Catholique Religion* reſtored by Act of Parliament.

A. One Queſtion you have not anſwered, what were the Words of his *Miſſion* and *Conſecration* both as Prieſt and Biſhop?

B. That you ſhall hear by and by. Give me leave to obſerve one or two paſſages more out of Dr. *Burnet*.

A. As to what Point?

B. As to that *Candour* and *Simplicity* which *Burnet* admires in him, *page* 172. 1. *vol.* The Story is thus, *Burnet p.* 172. *ſecond volume. viz.*

In

In the year 1551. the fifth year of *Edward* the Sixth, the buſineſs of the Lady *Mary* was taken up with more heat than formerly. The Emperors earneſt Suit that ſhe might have *Maſs* ſaid in her Houſe was long rejected —— Yet the State of *England* making his Friendſhip at that time neceſſary to the King, and he refuſing to continue in his League, unleſs his Kinſwoman obtained that Favour, it was promiſed, that for ſome time, in hope ſhe would *reform*, there ſhould be a Forbearance granted. The Emperors Ambaſſador preſſed to have a *Licenſe* for it under the great Seal; it was anſwered, that being againſt *Law*, it could not be done. ——— The two grounds ſhe went upon, were, that ſhe would follow the *ancient* and *univerſal* way of Worſhip, and not a *new Invention* that lay within the Four Seas (*theſe were her words*) and that ſhe would continue in that Religion in which her Father, King *Henry*, had inſtructed her. To this the King ſent an Anſwer, (*he was then ſcarce* 14 *years of age*) telling her, that ſhe was a part of this Church and Nation, and ſo muſt conform her ſelf to the Laws of it (*the Laws made by* Cranmer, Sommerſet, Dudley, *&c.*) and that the way of *Worſhip* now ſet up, was no other than what was clearly conſonant to the pure Word of God, (*that was King* Edwards *firſt Common Prayer Book, which expreſly commanded Prayers for the dead.*) After this ſhe was ſent for to Court, and pains was taken to inſtruct her better; but ſhe refuſed to enter into any Reaſonings, and claimed the Promiſe that was ſaid to be made to the *Emperor*. But it was told her, that it was but temporary and conditional. Whereupon the laſt Summer (*anno* 1550.) ſhe was deſigning to fly out of *England* ——— The *Emperors* Ambaſſador ſolicited for her violently; and ſaid, he would preſently take leave, and proteſt that they had broken their Faith to his Maſter, who would reſent the Uſage of the Lady *Mary* as highly as if it were done immediately to himſelf. The Privy *Counſellors* having no mind to draw a new War on their Heads, eſpecially from ſo victorious a Prince, were all inclined to let the matter fall. There was alſo a Years Cloth lately ſent over to *Antwerp*, and 1500 Quin-

tals of Powder, with a great deal of Armour, bought there for the King's uſe, was not come over. So it was thought by no means adviſable to provoke the Emperor, while they had ſuch effects in his Ports: Nor were they very willing to give higher Provocations to the next Heir of the Crown. Therefore they all adviſed the King not to do more in that matter at preſent, but to leave the Lady *Mary* to her Diſcretion; who would certainly be made more Cautious by what ſhe had met with, and would give as little ſcandal as was poſſible by her *Maſs*.

But King *Edward* could not be induced to give way to it, for he thought the *Maſs* was Impious and Idolatrous (*as* Cranmer, *and the reſt of his Tutors had inſtructed him,*) ſo he would not conſent to the continuance of ſuch a Sin. Upon this the Council ordered *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Poinet* (*the new Biſhop of* Wincheſter) to diſcourſe with him about it. They told him it was always a Sin in a Prince to permit any Sin, but to give a *Connivance*; that is, not to Puniſh, was not always a *Sin*. Since ſometimes a leſſer Evil connived at might prevent a greater. He was overcome by this, yet not ſo eaſily, but that he burſt forth into Tears, lamenting his Siſters obſtinacy, and that he muſt ſuffer her to continue in ſo abominable a way of Worſhip as he eſteemed the *Maſs*. *Burnet*, ibid.

Reader, *Obſerve here the Caſuiſtry of theſe new Apoſtles* Cranmer, Ridley, *and* Poinet, *&c. governing the Conſcience of this young King. At his Fathers death they all went to* Maſs: *King* Henry *was no ſooner dead, but they repreſent it to King* Edward *as the moſt impious and deteſtable Idolatry, not to be tolerated by any* Chriſtian *King. He underſtood not their* Knavery, *being then* (anno 1546.) *a Child of nine years old; but verily thought them* (*what they pretended to be*) *the moſt ſincere Chriſtians. After four or five years, he is amazed to find the* Spirit *of* Reformation *appearing with a* Cloven foot, *and diſtinguiſhing betwixt* Permitting *and* Conniving *at the impiety of the* Maſs *for intereſts ſake.* He burſt out into Tears *at the Counſel of theſe new* Evangeliſts, *thus mingling earthly Policy with Religion. But mark what follows.*

Bur-

Burnet informs you, that King *Edward's* Council being now leſs in fear of the *Emperor* —— In *July* (*anno* 1551) ſent for *Ingleſield*, *Walgrave* and *Rocheſter*, three of the Lady *Marys* chief Officers and gave them Inſtructions to ſignifie unto her the Kings Pleaſure to have the new Service in her Family (*theſe are* Burnets *words*) and to return with an Anſwer. In *Auguſt* they came back, and ſaid, ſhe received the Meſſage very grievouſly; and that ſhe would obey the King in all things, except where her Conſcience was touched. Upon this they were ſent to the *Tower*. Then the Lord *Chancellor*, Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, and Sir *William Petre* were ſent unto *her* with a Letter from the King, and Inſtructions from the Council. They came to her Houſe at *Copthall* in *Eſſex*. The Lord *Chancellor* gave her the Kings Letter, which ſhe received on her knees, and ſaid, ſhe paid that reſpect to the Kings *Hand*, and not to the Matter of the Letter, which ſhe knew proceeded from the *Council*. And when ſhe read it, ſhe ſaid, *Ah! Mr.* Cecil *took much pains here* (*he was then Secretary of State*); ſo ſhe turned to the Counſellors, and bid them deliver their Meſſage to her, wiſhing them to be ſhort; for ſhe was not well at eaſe. The Lord Chancellor told her, that all the Council were of one mind, that ſhe muſt be no longer ſuffered to have private *Maſs* or a *Form* of Religion different from what was eſtabliſhed by *Law*.

He went to read the Names of thoſe that were of that mind; but ſhe deſired him to ſpare his pains, ſhe knew they were all of a ſort. They next told her, they had Order to require her Chaplains to uſe no other Service than what was according to *Law*.

She anſwered, ſhe was the Kings moſt obedient Subject and Siſter; and would obey him in every thing, but where her Conſcience held her, and would willingly ſuffer Death to do him Service: but ſhe would lay her Head on a Block, rather than uſe any other *Form* of Service, than what had been at her Fathers Death; only ſhe thought (*obſerve this*) ſhe was not worthy to ſuffer Death upon ſo good an account. When the King

came

came to be of Age, ſo that he could order theſe things himſelf, ſhe would obey his Commands in Religion. For although he (*Good, Sweet King*) theſe were her words, had more Knowledge than any of his years, yet he was not a fit Judge in theſe matters. For if a Ship were to be ſet to Sea, or any matter of Policy to be determined, they would not think him fit for it; much leſs could he be able to reſolve Points of *Divinity*.

I have tranſcribed this paſſage at large out of Burnet, (pag. 173, 174. 2. vol.) *for two reaſons.* 1. *To acquaint the* Reader *how theſe* Reformers *ſteered their courſe according to their* Intereſt. For (in *July* 1551.) being now in leſs fear of the *Emperor* (*ſays* Burnet) they ſent 3 Meſſengers to her, to ſignifie the Kings Pleaſure, that ſhe muſt be no longer ſuffered to have *Maſs* in her Family. 2. *To entertain you with this paſſage of the Chriſtian and Noble Behaviour of the Lady* Mary, *confeſſed by* Burnet *himſelf. And more of it you ſhall hear anon.*

A. You promiſed another paſſage out of *Burnet*.

B. 'Tis this. On the 12*th*. of *April*, 1549. (*the third year of* Edward VI.) a Complaint was brought to the *Council*, that with the Strangers that were come into *England*, ſome *Anabaptiſts* had come over, and were diſſeminating their Errors and making Proſelites: ſo a *Commiſſion* was ordered for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Ely*, *Wirceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Lincoln* and *Rocheſter*, *&c.* and ſome others, three of them being a *Quorum*, to examine and ſearch after all Anabaptiſts, *Heretiques* or Contemners of the *Common Prayer*. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoyn them *Penance*, and give them *Abſolution*; or if they were obſtinate, to excommunicate and impriſon them; and to deliver them over to the ſecular Power to be further proceeded againſt. Some Tradeſmen in *London* were brought before theſe Commiſſioners in *May*, and were perſwaded to abjure their Opinions, which were, *that a man regenerate could not ſin; that though the outward man ſinned, the inward man ſinned not. That there was no Trinity of Perſons, that Chriſt was only a holy Prophet, and not at all God: that the Baptiſm of Infants*

Infants was not profitable. That Christ took no Flesh of the Virgin, &c.

One of those, who thus abjured, was commanded to carry a Faggot next *Sunday* at Saint *Pauls*, where there should be a Sermon setting forth his *Heresie*. But there was another of these extream obstinate, *Joan Bocher*, commonly called *Joan* of *Kent*, *she denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose Flesh being sinful, he could take none of it: but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin*, took *Flesh of her*. These were her words. They took much pains about her, and had many Conferences with her; but she was so extravagantly conceited of her own Notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn; whereupon she was adjudged an obstinate *Heretique*; and so left to the secular Power. This being returned to the *Council*, the good King was moved to sign a Warrant for burning her; but could not be prevailed on to do it. He thought it a piece of Cruelty too like that (says *Burnet*) which they had condemned in the *Papists*, to burn any for their Consciences. *Cranmer* was employed to perswade him to sign the *Warrant*. He argued from the Law of *Moses*, by which Blasphemers were to be stoned: he told the King, he made a great difference between Errors in other Points of Divinity, and those that were directly against the Apostles *Creed*: That these were Impieties against God, which a Prince, as being Gods Deputy, ought to punish, as the Kings *Deputies* were obliged to punish Offences against the Kings *Person*. These Reasons did rather silence than satisfie the young King; who still thought it a hard thing (as in truth it was, says *Burnet*) to proceed so severely in such cases. So he set his hand to the Warrant with tears in his eyes, saying to *Cranmer*, that if he did wrong, since it was in submission to your Authority, you shall answer for it to God. This struck the Archbishop with much horror, so that he was very unwilling to have the Sentence executed. (*Her Crime was nothing else but that she had read the Bible, and interpreted it according to that Judgment of Discretion which* Cranmer *allowed to every one.*) But he and *Ridley* took the Woman

then

then in cuſtody to their Houſes, to ſee if they could perſuade her. But ſhe continued to carry her ſelf ſo contemptuouſly, that at laſt the Sentence was executed on her, the ſecond of *May* next year, and ſhe was burnt.

This Action (ſaith *Burnet*) was much cenſured, as being contrary to the Clemency of the *Goſpel*; and was oft made uſe of by the *Papiſts*, who ſaid it was plain that the *Reformers* were only againſt *Burning*, when they were in fear of it themſelves. And the Womans Carriage made her be lookt on as a frantick perſon, fitter for *Bedlam* than a *Stake*.

Two years after this, one *George Pare* a *Dutchman* was burnt, for ſaying, that Chriſt was not Very God.

In all the Books publiſhed in Queen *Marys* days, juſtifying her Severity againſt the *Proteſtants*, theſe inſtances were always made uſe of, and no part of *Cranmers* Life expoſed him more then this did. *Burnet, p.* 111, 112. 2. *vol.*

He tells us moreover, It was ſaid he had conſented both to *Lamberts* and *Ann Askows* Death in King *Henrys* Reign, who both ſuffered for Opinions, which *Cranmer* himſelf held now in King *Edwards* days. *Burnet, ibid.*

And now, Reader, *obſerve the Excuſe which* Burnet *makes for him.* One thing was certain, that what he did in this matter, flowed from no Cruelty of Temper in him; but it was truly the effect of thoſe Principles by which he governed himſelf. *ibid. p.* 112.

It is plain, that the Reformers *were only againſt Burning, when they were in fear of it themſelves. No body can judge of* Hereſie *but* themſelves.

A. Now, I pray, what were the Words of his *Miſſion* and *Conſecration*, both as Prieſt and Biſhop?

B. His Prieſtly Function was given him in theſe Words, *Accipe Poteſtatem offerre Sacrificium Deo, Miſſaſque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, in nomine Domini. Amen.* Take thou Power to offer Sacrifice to God, and celebrate Maſs both for the living and the dead, in the name of the Lord. *Amen.* *Accipe*

Spiritum

Spritum ſanctum, quorum remiſeris peccata, remiſſa ſunt; & quorum retinueris, retenta ſunt.

Tunc interrogat Epiſcopus, promittiſne mihi & Succeſſoribus meis Reverentiam & Obedientiam? Reſpondet Presbyter, Promitto, &c. that is, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe Sins thou doſt remit, they are remitted, whoſe Sins thou doſt retain, they are retained.*

Then the Biſhop demands, Wilt thou promiſe to me and my Succeſſors Reverence and Obedience?

The *Prieſt* anſwers, I promiſe.

A. Had he no other *Prieſthood* but this? I ask this queſtion not without ſome admiration at this *Reformer!*

B. None but this.

A. Then by theſe Prieſtly Orders he had received no Power but to *celebrate* Maſs *for the quick and dead, and in Chriſts name to bind and abſolve Sinners,* &c.

B. True; and accordingly had officiated for many years, until the firſt or ſecond year of *Edward* 6. when he was diſcharged of that Office.

A. Who diſcharg'd him?

B. I cannot undertake to anſwer all the difficulties of that Queſtion. But you know King *Edward* was then Supream Ordinary of the Church of *England*, although but a Child of nine years old: and Proteſtants will tell you, *Cranmer* was no longer obliged to ſuch *Prieſthood*, having found out the Impieties and Corruptions thereof.

A. No longer obliged to ſuch Prieſthood! you ſay he had no other, beſides what was delivered to him in theſe words, *Accipe Poteſtatem offerre Sacrificium Deo, Miſſaſque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, &c.*

B. They are the expreſs words of the *Roman Pontifical*, whereby he was ordained Prieſt, as Dr. *Burnet* confeſſes.

* *A.* Then what *Prieſthood* had he to aboliſh the *Maſs*, to reform *Altars* into *Communion Tables*, and

* The Natural Body and Blood of Chriſt are in Heaven, and not here (*in the Sacrament,*) it being againſt the truth of Chriſts natural Body to be at one time in more places than one, ſaith the Church of *England*, *Rubrick after Communion Service.*

the *real preſence* of Chriſts Body and Blood into a *real abſence*, or to read Communion Service without a *Communion*, as *Proteſtants* do upon moſt Sundays and Holidays?

B. As for theſe things, perhaps he had ſome extraordinary Inſpiration and perhaps not; you preſs too hard with your Queſtions, as if you had found out the *blind ſide* of the *Reformation*. What he wanted of *Prieſthood*, you know, was ſupplied to him by Act of *Parliament*. Remember Mr. *Kings* Admonition, the Preacher of St. *Warbroughs*; *A Fool may ask more Queſtions than a Wiſe man can eaſily anſwer*, Anſwer to D. M's Latin Queſtions, *pag.* 99.

A. Yes, and I remember what he ſays moreover, *p.* 25. *He*, viz. Cranmer, *in all he did, had the unanimous Conſent and Vote of the major part of the Convocation*, &c.

B. You muſt excuſe him for that miſtake. He has enough to do (and perhaps more than an *ingenious* man would deſire to undertake) to ſatisfie the *itching Ears* of his *Congregation* with a *ſpick* and *ſpan new* Sermon every *Sunday* in the year, beſides other Parochial Duties, and cannot know every thing as he pretends. Dr. *Burnet* informs you, how in the year 1534. *Cromwell* joyning himſelf to *Cranmer* in a firm Friendſhip, did promote the Reformation very vigorouſly; but there was another party in Court that wreſtled much againſt it, whereof the Duke of *Norfolk* was Head; whoſe great Friend was *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who deſpiſed *Cranmer*, and hated all *Reformation*: *Longland*, that had been the Kings Confeſſor, was alſo managed by them; and they had a great Party in Court, and (*mark this*) almoſt all the Churchmen were on their ſide. *Burnet, p.* 172. 1. *vol. Here almoſt all the Churchmen were againſt* Cranmer.

Then in the year 1540. *Cranmer* (*ſays* Burnet) was for reducing the *Seven* Sacraments to *Two*, but the Popiſh Party was then prevalent; ſo the old number of Seven was agreed to, *pag.* 289. 1. *vol.* and *Cranmer* ſubſcribed with the reſt, tho againſt his own opinon.

This was far from the unanimous Conſent of the Clergy.

In

In the Reign of King *Edward*, *anno* 1547. while the Parliament was ſitting, they were not idle in the *Convocation*, though the Popiſh party (*theſe are* Burnets *words*) was yet ſo prevalent in both Houſes (of *Convocation*) that *Cranmer* had no hopes of doing any thing till they were freed of the trouble which ſome of the great Biſhops gave them, *p.* 47. 2. *vol. that is, till thoſe Biſhops were purged out.* And reckoning the number of Biſhops that were of *Cranmers* ſide *anno* 1547. all he could find were theſe, *viz. Holgate* of *York*, *Holbeach* of *Lincoln*, *Goodrick* of *Ely* & *Ridley* elect of *Rocheſter*, and *Latimer*. Others of the Biſhops were ignorant and weak men (ſays *Burnet*) who underſtood Religion little and valued it leſs (*meaning his new Reformation*); and ſo though they liked the old Superſtition beſt (*that is Catholique Religion*) yet they reſolved to ſwim with the ſtream, *p.* 25. 2 *vol.*

Then *anno* 1548. of the 8 Biſhops who were ordered to draw up the Common Prayer Book, four proteſted againſt it, as *Burnet* confeſſes, *p.* 94. 2. *vol.* And the ſame year it being brought into the Houſe of Lords, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Norwich*, *Carliſle*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Chicheſter* proteſted againſt it. *p.* 23. 2. *vol.*

That ſame year there was a Committee of ſelected Biſhops & Divines for examining all the Offices of the Church, and for reforming them, (ſays *Burnet.*) ——— The thing they firſt examined was the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, and here they managed their Enquiries in the ſame manner that was uſed in King *Henrys* Reign: in which when any thing was conſidered in order to a Change, it was put into ſeveral *Queries*, to which every one in Commiſſion was to give his Anſwer in Writing. Some of the Queries were theſe, *viz.* What was the Oblation or Sacrifice of the Maſs? wherein the Maſs conſiſted? *&c.*

To theſe the Biſhops made their ſeveral Anſwers, by which the Reader will perceive (ſays *Burnet*) how generally the Biſhops were addicted to the old Superſtition, and how few did agree in all things with *Cranmer p.* 61, 62. 2. *vol.*

Diſſenters from the *Reformation* were generally turned out of their *Sees*. *For the moſt part the Prelates were changed* (ſays *Fox*) *and the dumb Biſhops compelled to give place to others that would preach.* p. 1180 And that all things might be carried with as little oppoſition and noiſe as might be (ſaith *Heylin*,) it was thougt fit that Biſhop *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter* ſhould be kept in Priſon till the end of the Seſſion of *Parliament*, and that Biſhop *Tonſtall* of *Durham* (a man of a moſt moderate and even Spirit) ſhould be made leſs in Reputation by being deprived of his place at Council Table. *Hiſtory Reformation*, p. 48. *This was anno* 1547. *the firſt year of King* Edward.

Heylin adds. And though the Parliament conſiſted of ſuch Members as diſagreed amongſt themſelves in reſpect of Religion, yet they agreed well enough together in one common Principle, which was to ſerve the preſent Turn, and preſerve themſelves: For though a great part of the Nobility, and not a few of the Chief Gentry in the Houſe of Commons were Cordially affected to the Church of *Rome*; yet were they willing to give way to all ſuch Acts and Statutes as were made againſt it, out of a fear of loſing ſuch Church Lands as they were poſſeſſed of, if that Religion ſhould prevail, and get up again. And for the reſt, who either were to make or improve their Fortunes, there is no queſtion to be made, but that they came reſolved to further ſuch a Reformation as ſhould moſt viſibly conduce to the advancement of their ſeveral ends; which appears plainly by the ſtrange mixture of the *Acts* and *Reſults* thereof; ſome tending ſimply to God's Glory and the good of the Church; ſome to the preſent benefit and enriching of particular Perſons. And ſome again being deviſed of purpoſe to prepare a way for expoſing the Revenues of the Church unto ſpoil and rapine. *Heylin*, p. 48.

Anno 1551. *Poynet* was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Gardiner* being deprived. Doctor *Story* was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. *Miles Coverdal*, Biſhop of *Exeter*. *Hooper* of *Gloceſter*. So that now (ſays *Burnet*) the Biſhopriks were generally filled with men well affected to the *Reformation*, *Burnet pag.* 166. 2. *vol.* *And*

now

now let the Reader obſerve his following words, viz. ſo now the Biſhops being generally addicted to the Purity of Religion, moſt of this year (1551) was ſpent in preparing *Articles* which ſhould contain the *Doctrine* of the Church of *England.*

But many thought (ſays he) they ſhould have begun 1. with thoſe (*Articles*;) but *Cranmer* upon good reaſons was of another mind, though much preſſed by *Bucer* about it, till the Order of Biſhops (*obſerve*) were brought to ſuch a model, that the far greater part of them would agree to it: it was much fitter to let that deſign (*of the* 39 *Articles*) go on ſlowly, than to ſet out a Profeſſion of their Belief, to which ſo great a part of the chief Paſtors might be obſtinately averſe. *Burnet p.* 166. 2. *vol.*

In the firſt year of Queen *Eliſabeth* (1559) the Bill for the Supremacy was paſt by the Lords on the 18*th* of *March.* The Archbiſhop of *York,* the Earl of *Shrewsbury,* the Biſhops of *London, Winchester, Worceſter, Landaff, Coventry* and *Litchfield, Exeter, Cheſter* and *Carliſle,* and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* diſſenting. *Burnet. p.* 385. 2. *vol.*

He proceeds, p. 386. There was no other puniſhment inflicted on thoſe that denied the Queens Supremacy (*ann.*1559.) but the loſs of their Goods, and ſuch as refuſed to take the Oath did only loſe their Imployments. Whereas to refuſe the Oath in King *Henrys* time brought them into a *Premunire,* and to deny the Supremacy was Treaſon. But againſt this Bill (*of Queen* Elizabeths *firſt Parliament*) the Biſhops made Speeches in the Houſe of Lords; the reſt of the Biſhops oppoſed it, the rather becauſe they had lately declared ſo high for the Pope, that it had been very indecent for them to have revoked ſo ſoon, *pag.* 386, 387. 2. *vol.*

The Biſhop of *Cheſter* ſaid in Parliament, that the Bill was againſt both Faith and Charity (*meaning the Bill for the new Service*) that *Acts* of *Parliament* were no Foundations for a Churches *Belief*; that it was an inſolent thing to pretend that all our *Fathers* lived in Ignorance. That the Prophets oftentimes directed the *Iſraelites* to enquire of their Fathers. Matters of Religion could

could not be underſtood by the Laiety. *Jeroboam* made *Iſrael* to ſin when he ſet up a new way of Worſhip. *Gallio* by the Light of Nature knew that a Civil Judge ought not to meddle with matters of Religion. In the *Service-Book*, that was then before them, there was no *Sacrifice for Sin*, &c. and for theſe reaſons (ſays *Burnet*) he could not agree to it. But if any thought he ſpoke this becauſe of his own concern, or pitied him for what he might ſuffer by it, he would anſwer in the words of our Saviour, *Weep not for me, weep for your ſelves.* p. 393.

After him ſpake *Fecknam* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; he ſaid, There had been great Order and Obedience in Queen *Marys* Reign: but now every where great Inſolencies were committed by the people, with ſome very indecent Prophanations of the moſt holy things. He recommended to them in St. *Auſtins* words the adhering to the Catholique Church: the very name *Catholique*, which Heretiques had not the confidence to aſſume, ſhewed their Authority. The Conſent of the whole Church in all Ages with the perpetual *Succeſſion* of Paſtors in St. *Peters* Chair, ought to weigh more with them than a few *new Preachers*, who had of late diſtracted both *Gemany* and *England*. *Burnet pag.* 393. 2. *vol.*

Then ſee his *Appendix* to 2. *vol. p.* 408. where ſetting down theſe words of *Nicholas Sanders*, *That the Laws concerning Queen* Eliſabeths *Supremacy paſſed the Houſe of Lords with great difficulty, all the Biſhops oppoſing them.* *Burnet* anſwers, It is true, all the Biſhops did oppoſe them, &c. But to all the Changes that were made in King *Edwards* time they ſubmitted, &c. *Why then were they turned out by King* Edward, *and Proteſtants ſubſtituted in their places?*

Thus, Reader, *it appears by* Burnets *own Confeſſion, that the* Reformation *was not the* Act *and* Deed *of the old Clergy or Convocation of* England, *or the major part thereof; but impos'd on the* Nation *by the Power and Intereſt of a few perſons. And ſo I leave you to think what you pleaſe of* Mas William Kings *Confidence, the Preacher of St.* Warbroughs, *affirming* (*as you have heard*) *that*

Cranmer

Cranmer *in all* he did had the unanimous Conſent and Vote of the major part of the *Convocation*, the univerſal Submiſſion of the Clergy, *&c. Anſw p.* 25.

A. But ſuppoſing he had the *major Vote* of his ſide (as he had not) could that have juſtified his *Reformation*?

B Not at all; for being all made *Prieſts* after that *Form, Accipe Poteſtatem offerre Sacrificium Deo, miſſaſque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, &c.* they had no more Authority to abrogate the *Maſs*, than the preſent Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the major Vote of the *Proteſtant* Biſhops to abolish the *Common Prayer*. By their *Proteſtant* Orders they cannot do it.

A. So much for his *Prieſthood*. You ſaid he was conſecrated *Biſhop* in the year 1533. what were the Words of his *Conſecration*?

B. You may find them in the *Roman Pontifical*. Firſt he was interrogated, *Vis Traditiones orthodoxorum Patrum & Decretales ſanctæ & Apoſtolicæ ſedis conſtitutiones veneranter ſuſcipere, docere ac ſervare?*

R. *Volo.*

Vis beato Petro Apoſtolo *cui à Deo data eſt Poteſtas ligandi ac ſolvendi, ejúſque Vicario Domino noſtro N.* Papæ *ſuiſque Succeſſoribus Romanis* Pontificibus *fidem, ſubjectionem & obedientiam ſecundum Canonicam Auctoritatem per omnia exhibere?*

R. *Volo.*

Credis ſanctam, catholicam & Apoſtolicam unam eſſe veram Eccleſiam, in qua unum datur verum Baptiſma & vera peccatorum omnium Remiſſio?

R. *Credo.*

That is, Will you reverently receive, teach and keep the Traditions of the orthodox Fathers, the Decrees and Conſtitutions of the holy and Apoſtolique *See*?

He anſwered, *I will.*

Will you ſhew Fidelity, Subjection and Obedience to St. *Peter* the Apoſtle, and his Succeſſors the Biſhops of *Rome*, in all things according to the *Canons*?

He

He anſwered, *I will.*

Do you believe one holy Catholique and Apoſtolique Church, in which there is true Baptiſm and true Remiſſion of Sins?

He anſwered, *I believe.*

After which the Biſhop, *conſecrating*, authorizes him in theſe Words, *viz. Accipe Evangelium, vade & prædica populo tibi commiſſo. Receive thou the Goſpel, go and preach to the people committed to thy charge. R.* Amen.

A. Why, by this *Conſecration* he had no more Authority to preach the Doctrine of 39 *Articles*, than the preſent Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to preach the Doctrine of the Council of *Trent.*

B. No more. You ſee how he obliged himſelf to pay Fidelity, Subjection and Obedience to the Biſhops of *Rome* in all things according to the *Canons* then in force. And reverently to receive, teach and keep the Conſtitutions of the holy and Apoſtolique *See.* And upon theſe *terms* he receiv'd his *Commiſſion* to go and preach the Goſpel.

A. The matter is plain. All his *Changes* were unwarrantable, and his *Reformation* but a *Caſtle* in the *air* without a *Foundation*, if you ſet aſide *Acts* of *Parliament.*

B. And beſides all this, he ſwore that *Oath* to the *Pope* which you have heard, *page* 28. of this Catechiſm. Then what if all the *Biſhops* had conſented with him, they had but violated their Engagements and *Vows*, as he did, being all ſent and *ordained* after that *Form.*

Reader, *I pray look into the* Form *and* Manner *appointed by the Church of* England *for conſecrating of* Biſhops *and* Archbiſhops; *and there obſerve how* Proteſtant *Biſhops do oblige themſelves to preach* Gods Word *according to the Authority committed unto them by the* Ordinance of this Realm, *and no otherwiſe; that is to ſay, according to the Doctrine of* Thirty nine Articles. *Then enquire a little further what* Commiſſion *had* Cranmer *or* Matthew Parker *to impoſe or preach the ſaid Articles.*

A. Enough of Cranmer. *What is Burnets* Character of thoſe few Biſhops that were of his Party?

B. Thoſe

B. Thoſe were *Latimer, Shaxton, Barlow*; who were rather Cloggs than Helps to *Cranmer* (ſays *Burnet.*) *Latimers* Simplicity and Weakneſs made him be deſpiſed: *Shaxtons* proud and litigious Humour drew hatred on him. *Barlow* was not very diſcreet, *Burnet pag.* 255. 1. *vol. And then it follows*; Many of the Preachers whom they cheriſhed (*meaning the new Preachers*) whether out of an unbridled forwardneſs of Temper, or true Zeal, that would not be managed and governed by politick and prudent meaſures (*note this*) were flying at many things not yet aboliſhed. *See the reſt* Burnet ibid. *This was in the year* 1538.

A. Give me leave to ask you one Queſtion.

B. What's that?

A. What is your meaning by all this Hiſtory of *Cranmer* and his *Aſſociates?*

B. Nothing but to ſhew the unwarrantableneſs of all the *Changes* they made in Religion; having neither extraordinary nor ordinary *Miſſion* to recommend them; nor yet the major Vote of the *Convocation.* Ordinary *Miſſion* they had none, but what you have heard out of the *Roman Pontifical. Extraordinary things* they never pretended to, beſides what I have told you out of *Burnet* and *Fox.*

Now, Reader, *remember that wonderful Anſwer of* Mas William Kings, *page* 18. *viz.* —— Although therefore the firſt *Reformers* had their *Orders* from Biſhops in Communion with the Church of *Rome*: Yet it was as Chriſtian Biſhops they ordained, and as Engliſh Biſhops that they admitted the firſt *Reformers* to their Charges. But ſuppoſe they (*the firſt Reformers*) had no other Orders but what they received from the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf; all that can be concluded from thence, is, that we are obliged to own that the Orders of *Prieſt* and *Biſhop* given by *Roman Catholicks* are valid, and capacitate a Man to perform all the Duties belonging to thoſe Offices in a Chriſtian Church, which we readily acknowledge, (*obſerve that*) and charge the Popiſh Prieſts and Biſhops not with want of *Orders*; but with abuſing

the Orders they have to ill intents and purpoſes, (*by whoſe Authority do you paſs this Cenſure?*) The *Roman Catholick* Biſhops do not confer Orders as *Roman*, but as *Chriſtian* Biſhops; their Orders are Chriſtian Orders. [*Mark* Reader *what he ſays, Roman Catholick Biſhops are Chriſtian Biſhops, and their Orders Chriſtian Orders; why then did the firſt Reformers ſo notoriouſly tranſgreſs them?*] And thoſe we hold ſufficient to all intents and purpoſes of the *Reformation*; and muſt do ſo till Mr. *Manby* or ſome body elſe prove them inſufficient. In ſhort, a Man is ordained neither a *Proteſtant* nor a *Papiſt*, but a *Chriſtian* Biſhop, his Miſſion is a Chriſtian Miſſion, *page* 19.

Now Roman Catholicks *will be apt to ask, what needs any more to recommend their Doctrine then Chriſtian Biſhops and a Chriſtian Miſſion? Mr.* King *allows their Miſſion and denyes their Doctrine.* They deny both *his* Miſſion *and his* Doctrine. *When Doctrines are diſputed and* Scriptures *alledged by both Parties, how ſhall a Church preve the* verity *of her Doctrine but by the* certainty *of her Miſſion? Did not our bleſſed Saviour anſwer that queſtion of the Jews,* by what Authority doeſt thou theſe things? by *appealing to the Evidence of his* Miſſion? The works that I do, teſtifie of me that I am ſent from God?

A. But Mr. *King*'s meaning is this, that Roman Catholicks have exceeded their *Commiſſion* by teaching falſe Doctrine.

B. But I would fain know of him, who ſhall be *Judge* of that? he knows very well, that's as eaſily deny'd as 'tis affirm'd. And I appeal to the indifferent Reader, which of the two Parties have been the greateſt Tranſgreſſors of thoſe *Orders* now mentioned?

A. But don't you obſerve one admirable paſſage in him?

B. What is that?

A. Why, that Mr. *M.* proceeds on an ignorant ſuppoſition, that every Man is ordained to preach the Tenets of his *Ordainers* —— Whereas the ordained are no more accountable to their *Ordainers* upon the account of being ordained by them, then a Man is accountable to a Lord *Chancellor* for the uſe of his power,

be-

becauſe he ſet the Seal to his Patent by which he claims his power, *page* 19.

B. Very good, then if Mr. *King* were ordained by the *Proteſtant* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, or of *Tuam*, he is not accountable to them for his Doctrine; becauſe *the Ordainers are only inſtruments, but his Power is from Chriſt.*

A. Mark what he ſays, *he is not accountable to his Ordainers upon the account of being ordained by them*, page 19. What can be the meaning of this, but that *Miniſters* are not bound to preach the Tenets or Doctrines of thoſe that ſent them? although Our Saviour himſelf ſays, *my Doctrine is not mine but his that ſent me*, John 7. 16.

B. I obſerve he may prove a *ſhrew'd* Man if he lives; and ſet up for a new Reformer; and then juſtifie it by ſaying, *Its an ignorant ſuppoſition to think every man is ordained to preach the* Tenets *of his Ordainers, or elſe muſt have no* Miſſion. *The Ordainers being only inſtruments, but the Power from Chriſt*, page 19. Reader, *May not a Man receive Orders from the* Church of England, *and afterwards make a ſtep to* New England, *and there preach againſt* Common Prayer *by vertue of this aſſertion?*

A. But what ſay you to that *ſcurrility* and *uncleanlineſs* of Language wherewith he treats Mr. *M.* from one end of his *Anſwer* to the other?

B. You muſt Pardon him, he had many Reaſons for that; *firſt*, to ſhew a good example to his *Flock*. 2. To prove himſelf a *Gentleman* and a well bred Scholar. 3. To entertain his Friends, with whom that ſort of Language may be more taking perhaps then the moſt modeſt Expreſſions. 4. To ſhew his Zeal for the Church, and how much better a Dutiful Child may love a good *Foſter Mother* the Church of *Ireland*, then his own *natural Mother* the Church of *Scotland*, &c.

A. Let us adjourn this Diſcourſe till to Morrow. And Conclude this firſt Dialogue with *Burnet's* Character of thoſe two worthy Perſons that dyed for the Catholick Religion under *Henry* VIII. Sir *Thomas More*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

On the firſt of *July* (*anno* 1535.) Sir *Thomas More* was brought to his Tryal. The ſpecial matter of his Indictment was, that on the *7th* of *May* preceding, before *Cromwell*, *Bedyll* and ſome others that were preſſing him concerning the Kings *Supremacy*, he ſaid, he would not meddle with any ſuch matter. And was fully reſolved to ſerve God and think upon his *Paſſion*, and his own paſſage out of this World. That he had alſo ſent divers Meſſages by one *George Gold* to Biſhop *Fiſher*, to encourage him in his obſtinacy, and ſaid, the *Act* of *Supremacy* is like a Sword with two Edges; for if a man anſwer one way, it will confound his Soul, and if he anſwer another way, it will confound his Body. That he had ſaid the ſame thing on the third of *June*, in the hearing of the Lord *Chancellor*, the Duke of *Norfolk* and others. And that he would not be the occaſion of the ſhortening his own Life.

This and other particulars, which paſſed betwixt him and *Rich* the Kings Sollicitor, were laid together, and judged to amount to a Denyal of the Kings Supremacy. Judge *Spelman* writes, that *More* being on his Tryal, pleaded ſtrongly againſt the Statute that made it *Treaſon* to deny the *Supremacy*; and argued, that the King could not be *Supream Head* of the Church. When he was brought to the Bar, he pleaded *Not Guilty*; but being found Guilty, Judgment was given againſt him as a *Traitor*. He received it with an equal Temper of Mind, which he had ſhewed in both conditions of Life; and then ſet himſelf wholly to prepare for Death. He expreſſed great Contempt of the World: and that he was weary of Life, and long'd for Death; which was ſo little terrible to him, that his ordinary Facetiouſneſs remained with him on the Scaffold. It was cenſured by many, as light and undecent; but others ſaid, that way having been ſo natural to him on all other occaſions, it was not at all affected; but ſhewed that Death did no way diſcompoſe him; nor ſo much as put him out of his ordinary Humour. Yet his rallying every thing on the Scaffold, was thought to have more of the *Stoick* than the *Chriſtian* in it.

After

After ſome time ſpent in ſecret Devotions, he was beheaded on the ſixth of *July*.

Thus dyed Sir *Thomas More* in the 53*d* year of his age. He was a man of rare Vertues and excellent Parts. In his youth he had freer thoughts of things, as appears by his *Utopia* and his Letters to *Eraſmus*; but afterwards he became ſuperſtitiouſly devoted (ſays *Burnet*) to the Intereſts and Paſſions of the Popiſh Clergy; and as he ſerved them when he was in Authority, even to aſſiſt them in all their Cruelties; ſo he employed his Pen in the ſame Cauſe, both in writing againſt all the *new Opinions* in general, and in particular againſt *Tindall*, *Frith* and *Barns*. He was no *Divine* at all (if you believe *Burnet*,) and it is plain to any that reads his Writings, that he knew nothing of Antiquity, beyond the Quotations he found in the *Canon Law*, and in the *Maſter* of the *Sentences*; only he had read ſome of St. *Auſtins* Treatiſes: For upon all points of Controverſie he quotes only what he found in thoſe Collections. Nor was was he at all converſant in the critical Learning upon the Scriptures (*he did not care for the new fangled Conceits of the Reformers.*) But his peculiar Excellency in writing was, that he had a natural, eaſie Expreſſion, and preſented all the Opinions of *Popery* with their fair ſide to the Reader, diſguiſing, or concealing the black ſide of them with great *Art*; (*that is, he did not underſtand, or miſtake Popery as Proteſtants do*;) and was no leſs dextrous in expoſing all the ill conſequences that could follow on the Doctrine of the *Reformers*; and had upon all occaſions great ſtore of pleaſant Tales, which he applied wittily to his purpoſe. And in this conſiſts the great ſtrength of his Writings, which were deſigned rather for the Rabble than for learned Men. But for Juſtice, Contempt of Mony, Humility, and a true Generoſity of Mind, he was an Example to the Age in which he lived. *Burnets* words, *pag.* 356. 1 *vol. Second Edition.*

The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had been a Priſoner above a year, and was very ſeverely uſed (ſays *Burnet*); he complained in his Letters to *Cromwell* (then Secretary of State) that he had neither Clothes,

Clothes, nor Fire, being then about fourſcore years of age. —— If he had kept his Opinion of the Kings Supremacy to himſelf, they could not have proceeded further. He would not do that, but did upon ſeveral occaſions ſpeak againſt it. So he was brought to his Tryal on the 17*th* of *June*. The Lord *Chancellor*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and ſome other Lords, together with the Judges, ſate upon him by Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*. He pleaded Not Guilty. But being found Guilty, Judgment paſſed on him to dye as a Traytor. But he was by a Warrant from the King beheaded. Upon the 22*d* of *June*, being the day of his Execution, he dreſſed himſelf with more than ordinary care; and when his Man took notice of it, he told him, he was to be that day a *Bridegroom*. As he was led to the place of Execution, being ſtop'd in the way by the croud, he opened his New Teſtament, and prayed to this purpoſe, that as that Book had been his Companion and chief Comfort in his Impriſonment, ſo then ſome place might turn up to him, that might comfort him in his laſt paſſage. This being ſaid, he opened the Book at a venture, in which theſe words of St. *Johns* Goſpel turn'd up, *This is Life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt, whom thou haſt ſent*. So he ſhut the Book with much ſatisfaction; and all the way was reading and meditating on them. When he came to the Scaffold, he pronounced the *Te Deum*. And after ſome other Devotions, his Head was cut off.

Thus dyed *Jon Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in the 80*th* year of his age. He was a learned and devout man (ſays *Burnet*,) but much addicted to the Superſtitions in which he had been bred up, and that led him to great ſeverities againſt all that oppoſed them. He had been for many years Confeſſor to the Kings Grandmother the Counteſs of *Richmond*. And it was believed, that he perſuaded her to thoſe noble deſigns for the Advancement of Learning, of founding 2 Colledges in *Cambridge*, St. *Johns* and *Chriſts* Colledge; and *Divinity Profeſſors* in both Univerſities. And in acknowledgement of this he was choſen *Chancellor* of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. *Henry* 7. gave him the Biſhoprick

of

of *Rocheſter*, which he, following the rule of the primitive Church, would never change for a better. He uſed to ſay, his Church was his *Wife*, and he would never part with her, becauſe ſhe was poor. He continued in great Favour with *Henry* 8. till the buſineſs of the *Divorce* was ſet on foot; and then he adhered ſo firmly to the Queens Cauſe, and the *Popes* Supremacy, that he was carried headlong into great Errors. So *Burnet*, after his petulant manner, is pleaſed to character this good man, *pag.* 354. 1. *vol.*

But then adds. Many thought the King ought to have proceeded againſt him rather upon that which was a point of *State*, than upon the *Supremacy*, which was matter of *Conſcienec*: but the King (ſaith he) was reſolved to let all his Subjects ſee, there was no Mercy to be expected by any that denyed his being *Supreme Head* of the Church: and therefore made him and Sir *Thomas More* two Examples for terrifying the reſt. *Burnet ibid.*

But the Courage and Chriſtian Soul *of this Biſhop appears in thoſe Speeches which he made in the Houſe of Lords, whereof there is no mention in* Burnet. *Which, for the primitive* Simplicity *and* Honeſty *thereof, I ſhall here tranſcribe out of Dr.* Bayly's Hiſtory.

The Firſt Speech, concerning the Demand of the Smaller Abbies for the Kings Uſe.

My Lords,

I *Pray you to take good heed unto what you are doing; leſt you do you know not what. For indeed the things that are demanded at our hands are not ours to grant, nor theirs to whom we ſhould beſtow them, if we ſhould grant them their Deſires. But they are the Legacies of thoſe Teſtators who have given them to the Church for ever, under the Penalty of a heavy Curſe, impoſed on all theſe who ſhall any way go about to alienate their Property from the Church. And beſides, if we grant the ſmaller Abbies to the King, what ſhould we do otherwiſe than ſhew him the way how in time it may be lawful for him to demand the greater? Wherefore the manner of theſe Proceedings puts me in mind of a* Fable, *how the* Ax *(that wanted a*

Hau-

Handle) *came upon a time to the* Wood, *making his moan to the great Trees, how he wanted a Handle to work withal, and for that cauſe he was conſtrained to ſit idle. Wherefore he made it his requeſt unto them, that they would grant him one of their ſmaller* Saplings *to make him a Handle. They, miſtruſting no guile, granted him one of the ſmaller* Trees; *ſo becoming a compleat* Ax, *he ſo fell to work within the ſame* Wood, *that in proceſs of time there was neither great nor ſmall* Tree *to be found there.*

And ſo, my Lords, if you grant the King theſe ſmaller Monaſteries, you do but make him a Handle, whereby at his own Pleaſure he may cut down all the Cedars *within your* Libanus. *And then you may thank your ſelves after ye have incurred the heavy Diſpleaſure of Almighty God.*

His Speech concerning many ſevere Objections againſt the whole Clergy, *anno* 1529.

My Lords,

HEre are certain Bills exhibited againſt the Clergy; and Complaints againſt the Viciouſneſs, Idleneſs, Rapacity and Cruelty of Biſhops, Abbots, Prieſts and their Officials; but, my Lords, are all vicious, all idle, all ravenous and cruel Prieſts or Biſhops? Are there not Laws already provided againſt ſuch? is there any abuſe that cannot be rectified? or can there be ſuch a Reformation, *that there ſhall be no Abuſes? are there not Clergymen to rectifie the Abuſes of the Clergy? or ſhall men find fault with other mens manners whilſt they forget their own? or puniſh where they have no Athority to correct? If we be not executive in our Laws, let each man ſuffer for his Delinquency. Or if we have not Power, aid us with your Aſſiſtance, and we ſhall give you thanks. But, my Lords, I hear there is a Motion made, that the ſmaller* Monaſteries *ſhould be taken into the* Kings *hands, which makes me apprehend, it is not ſo much the* good *as the* Goods *of the Church that are aim'd at.*

Truly, my Lords, how this may ſound in your ears I cannot tell; but to me it appears no otherwiſe, than as if our Mother *the Church were now to be brought into Servility; and by little and little to*

be

be banished out of those dwelling places which the Piety & Liberality of our Ancestors *have conferred upon her. Otherwise to what end are those portentous and curious Petitions of the* Commons? *To no other intent and purpose than to bring the Clergy into contempt with the* Laiety, *that they may seize their* Patrimony.

But my Lords beware of Your Selves, and of Your Country: Beware of Your Mother the Catholick Church. *The* People *are addicted unto Novelties. And* Lutheranism *spreads it self amongst us. Remember* Germany *and* Bohemia; *what Miseries are befallen them already; and let our Neighbours Houses that are now on* Fire, *teach us to beware of our own Disasters.*

My Lords, I will tell you plainly what I think, that except ye resist manfully by your Authorities this violent Stream *of Mischiefs offered by the* Commons, *you shall see all respect first withdrawn from the* Clergy, *and, secondly from Your* * Selves. *But if you search into the true causes of all these Mischiefs that Reign amongst them, you shall find that they all arise through want of* Faith.

*This Prophecy was fulfilled *anno* 1649. when the House of *Lords* was voted useless and dangerous by the *Commons*.

His Speech to the Lords concerning the Kings Supremacy.

My Lords,

IT is true, we are all under the King's Lash, and stand in need of the King's good Favour and Clemency. Yet this argues not that we must therefore do that which will render us both ridiculous and contemptible to all the *Christian World*; and hissed out from the Society of Gods *Holy Catholick Church*: What good will it do us to keep the Possession of our Houses, Cloysters and Convents, and to lose the *Society* of the *Christian World*? To preserve our *Goods*, and lose our *Consciences*? Therefore *My Lords*, I pray let us consider what we are doing; and what it is we are to Grant, with the Dangers and Inconve-

niences that will enſue thereupon. Or whether it lyes in Our power to grant what the *King* requires at our hands. Whether the King be an apt perſon to receive this Power, that ſo we may go groundedly to work; and not like Men that had loſt all Honeſty and Wit together with their Worldly Fortune.

As concerning the firſt point, *viz.* What the *Supremacy* of the Church is, which we are to give unto the King. It is to exerciſe the Spiritual Goverment of the Church in *Chief*, which according to all that ever I have learned both in the *Goſpel*, and through the whole courſe of *Divinity*, mainly conſiſts in theſe two points.

Firſt, In Binding and Abſolving *Sinners*, according to that which our Saviour ſaid unto Saint *Peter*, when he ordained him *Head* of his Church, *viz. To thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Now *My Lords*, can we ſay unto the King, Tibi, *to thee will we give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven?* If ye ſay, I, where is your *Warrant?* If you ſay *No*, then you have anſwered your Selves, that you cannot put ſuch *Keys* into his hands.

Secondly, The Supream Government of the Church conſiſts in feeding Chriſt's Sheep and Lambs; according to that, when our Saviour performed his promiſe to Saint *Peter* of making him univerſal Shepherd, by ſuch unlimited Juriſdiction, *feed my Lambs*; and not only ſo, but feed thoſe that are the feeders of thoſe Lambs, *feed my Sheep.* Now my *Lords* can any of us ſay unto the King *paſce Oves?*

God hath given unto his Church ſome to be *Apoſtles*, ſome *Evangeliſts*, ſome *Paſtors*, ſome *Doctors* for the Edifying of the Body of Chriſt. So that you muſt make the King one of theſe, before you can make him *Head* of the Church. He muſt be ſuch a Head as may edifie the Members of Chriſt's Body; and it is not the few Miniſters of an *Iſland* that muſt conſtitute a Head over the Univerſe; or at leaſt by ſuch example we muſt allow as many *Heads* over the *Univerſe*, as there are *Sovereign Powers* within Chriſt's Dominion. Every *Member* muſt have a Head.

Attendite

Attendite vobis was not said to Kings but Bishops.

2. Let us consider the Inconveniencies that will arise upon this Grant: We cannot grant this unto the *King*, but we must renounce our Unity with the See of *Rome*. And if there were no further matter in it, then a renouncing of *Clement* VII. (now Pope thereof) then the matter were not so great; but in this we do forsake the first four General Councils; which none ever forsook. We renounce all Canonical and Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church of Christ; we renounce all other Christian Princes; we renounce the Unity of the Christian World (*I suppose he means by inventing to our Selves a Church of* England *divided from all the rest of the Christian World*) and so by leaping out of *Peters* Ship to be drowned in the unstable Waters of *Heresie*, Sects, Schisms and Confusions.

For the first General Council of *Nice* acknowledged *Sylvester* the Bishop of *Rome* his Authority to be over them, by sending their *Decrees* to be ratifyed by him.

The Council of *Constantinople* did acknowledge Pope *Damasus* to be their *Chief*, by admitting him to give Sentence against the Hereticks, *Macedonius*, *Sabellius* and *Eunomius*.

The Council of *Ephesus* acknowledged Pope *Celestine* to be their chief Judge, by admitting his Condemnation upon the Heretick *Nestorius*.

The Council of *Calcedon* acknowledged Pope *Leo* to be their chief Head, and all General Councils of the World ever acknowledged the Pope of *Rome* (only) to be Supream Head of the Church under Christ. And now shall we set up another Head? or one Head in *England*, and another in *Rome*?

3. We deny all Ecclesiastical Laws which do wholly depend upon the Authority of the Apostolick See of *Rome*.

4. We renounce the Judgment of all other Christian Princes, whether they be Protestants or Catholicks. Nay by this argument *Nero* and *Herod* must have been Heads of the Church of Christ. The *Emperour* must be Head of the Protestant Church in *Germany*. And the Church of Christ must have

never a Head at all till about three hundred years after Chriſt.

Fifthly. The Kings Majeſty is not ſuſceptible of this *Donation: Ozias*, for medling with the Prieſts Office, was reſiſted by *Azarias, thruſt out of the Temple*, and told, that *it belongs not to his Office*. Now, if the Prieſt ſpake truth in this, then is not the *King* to meddle in this buſineſs: if he ſpake amiſs, why did God plague the King with Leproſie for this, and not the Prieſt?

King *David*, when the Ark of God was bringing home, did he place himſelf in the head of the Prieſts Order? did he ſo much as touch the Ark? or execute any the leaſt Office properly belonging to the Prieſtly Function? or did he not rather go before, and abaſe himſelf amongſt the people, and ſay, that he would become yet more vile, ſo that God might be glorified?

All good *Chriſtian* Emperors have evermore refuſed *Eccleſiaſtical Authority*; for at the firſt General Council of *Nice*, certain Bills were privily brought unto *Conſtantine*, to be ordered by his Authority; but he cauſed them to be burnt, ſaying, *Dominus vos conſtituit, &c. God hath ordained you* (Prieſts) *and hath given you Power to be Judges over us; and therefore by right in theſe things we are to be judged by you, but you are not to be judged by me.*

Valentine, the Good Emperor, was deſired by the Biſhops to be preſent with them, to reform the Hereſie of the *Arrians*; but he anſwered, Foraſmuch as I am one of the Members of the *Lay-people, it is not lawful for me to define ſuch Controverſies; but let the Prieſts, to whom God hath given the charge thereof, aſſemble where they will in due Order.*

Theodoſius, writing to the Council of *Epheſus*, ſaith, It is not lawful for him that is not of the holy Order of Biſhops, to intermeddle with *Eccleſiaſtical* matters. And now ſhall we cauſe our King to be *Head* of the Church, which all good Kings have abhorred the very leaſt thought of? (and ſo many wicked Kings have

have been plagued for ſo doing.) Truly, my Lords, I think they are his beſt Friends that diſſwade him from it; and he would be the worſt enemy to himſelf, if he ſhould obtain it.

Laſtly. If this thing be, farewel all Unity with Chriſtendom; for as that holy and bleſſed Martyr St. *Cyprian* ſaith, all Unity depends upon that holy *See*, as upon the Authority of St. *Peters* Succeſſors; for, ſaith the ſame holy Father, all Hereſies, Sects & Schiſms, have no other Riſe but this, that men will not be obedient to the chief Biſhop; and now for us to ſhake off our Communion with that Church, either we muſt grant the Church of *Rome* to be the *Church* of God, or elſe a *Malignant Church*. If you anſwer, ſhe is a Church of God, and a Church where Chriſt is truly taught, his Sacraments rightly adminiſtred, *&c.* how can we forſake, how can we fly from ſuch a Church? certainly we ought to be with, and not to ſeparate our ſelves from ſuch a one.

If we anſwer, The Church of *Rome* is not of God, but a Malignant Church, then it will follow, that we, the Inhabitants of this Land, have not as yet received the true *Faith* of Chriſt; ſeeing we have not received any other Goſpel, any other Doctrine, any other Sacraments, than what we have received from her; as moſt evidently appears by all the *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtories: wherefore, if ſhe be a *Malignant* Church, we have been deceived all this while; and if to renounce the common Father of *Chriſtendom*, all the General Councils, eſpecially the firſt Four, which none renounce, all the Countreys of Chriſtendom, whether they be Catholique Countreys or Proteſtant, be to forſake the Unity of the Chriſtian World, then is the granting of the Supremacy of the Church unto the King, a renouncing of this Unity, a tearing of the Seamleſs Coat of Chriſt in ſunder, a dividing of the Myſtical Body of Chriſt his Spouſe, limb from limb, and tayl to tayl, like *Sampſons* Foxes, to ſet the Field of Chriſts holy Church all on fire: and this is it which we are about; wherefore let it be ſaid unto you in time, and not too late, *Look you to that.*

The

The End of the *First Dialogue*, containing the History of the First *Reformers*, and *Anti-Reformers*.

The *Second* treats of the *Reformation* it ſelf, and the natural Fruits thereof, Jealouſy and Diſtraction amongſt the People, Decay of Sincerity, *&c.*

Now, Reader, (*wer't thou to chooſe thy Religion*) *conſider which of theſe two* Guides *thou wouldſt follow*, Cranmer *or the Biſhop of* Rocheſter; *the former having no* Miſſion *from Heaven, nor major Vote of the* Convocation *to authoriſe his Reformation, nor yet any great mind to dye a* Martyr *for the ſame*; *the later frankly expoſing his Life to* Stemm *that* Inundation *of* Sacriledge, Schiſm *and* Confuſion *that was breaking in*, anno 1535.

FINIS.